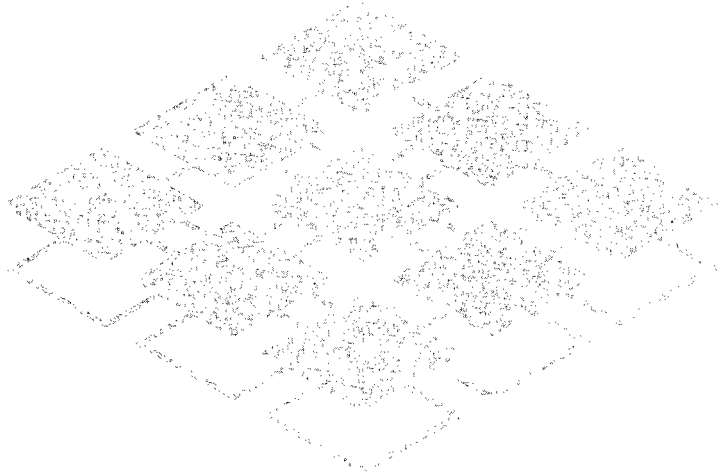
SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII



Ethnic Sources in Hawai'i
a special issue for
The University of Hawai'i's Seventy-Fifth Year

Volume 29
1982

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII: EDITORIAL POLICY

Social Process in Hawaii is a journal published annually by the University of Hawaii at Manoa Department of Sociology with the objective of disseminating to scholars, students, and the community the results of outstanding social science research on the people and institutions of Hawaii.

Since its inception, the Department of Sociology has taken the view that the Hawaiian community offers a rich and varied opportunity for observing the interplay of social processes which maintain stability and provoke social change. It is our hope that the journal might stimulate social research in Hawaii, provide materials for instruction of students, and enhance the understanding of the community among those who live and work here.

Contributions are encouraged from University faculty, graduate and undergraduate students in Sociology and other disciplines as well as other knowledgeable persons in the community. Preference will be given to research based upon sound methodologies and systematic evidence. Articles should employ a mid-level of writing and minimize technical terms. The presentation of complex statistical techniques should be kept to a minimum, and where used, should be accompanied by a clear textual description of the technique and its results.

Manuscripts are evaluated by the editors and other referees. Deadline for submission is October 1 and authors will be notified of editorial decisions no later than January 1 for inclusion in the issue published that academic year. Editors may occasionally solicit manuscripts, but in general most selections will be from among unsolicited manuscripts.

Authors interested in submitting manuscripts for consideration should send three copies to SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, Department of Sociology, Porteus Hall 247, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. The following guidelines should be observed in preparation of the manuscript:

1) Due to space limitations, short articles are preferred. Manuscripts should not exceed 15 double-spaced pages. Photographs, charts and graphs are welcome.
2) Preparation of copy and the format for references should follow the guidelines of the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. In the case of unusual problems consult the Editor.
3) Manuscripts submitted to the journal should be of final draft quality; the editor reserves the right to make minor editorial changes.
4) The University of Hawaii guidelines for allocating credit for research and writing should be observed.

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SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, VOLUME 29, 1982

FOREWORD

Kiyoshi Ikeda

This 1982 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* helps mark the University of Hawai'i's seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding as a land-grant institution. The Department of Sociology is celebrating this anniversary with a series of special events related to the contributions and legacy of Professor Romanzo Adams, who laid the basis for the development of social science with the founding of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1919. Adams developed the courses of instruction and made the major staff appointments in the fields of economics, sociology, anthropology, and social work, and laid the quality groundwork for human ecology and demography within the university. In conjunction with Professors Andrew W. Lind and Bernhard L. Hormann, the special editions of the major part of this issue, Adams developed the basic directions for research, scholarship, and teaching within the Department of Sociology from its inception to his retirement in 1938.

Romanzo Adams began to develop very systematic approaches and perspectives to describe the evolution of the character of the ethnic and racial populations in Hawai'i, and the changes of their interrelationships. In this process Adams sensed that the native Hawaiian heritage and underlying sentiments would be "treasured and, when they shall have received suitable artistic treatment, they will make an important contribution toward the unification of the peoples of Hawai'i" (from "This Generation of Hawaiian Youth," *Social Process in Hawaii*, vol. 2, 1936, p. 5). Adams' work on *The Peoples of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1928) represents a first effort in providing a status report of ethnic life and relations in Hawai'i. How incoming populations and evolving relations have affected island living to the present is represented in the articles in this issue.

Last year, 1981, also marked a seventy-fifth anniversary—of the arrival of the first Filipino immigrants to Hawai'i. And while the major thrust of that celebration was on the integration of that community into the larger Hawaiian society, we are pleased to publish two articles in our "Current Research" section that describe how the Hawai'i experience affected the eventual return to the Philippines of some of those immigrants. In the tradition of Adams, we believe that how immigrants cope over time, whether they remain in Hawai'i or return home, requires careful description and interpretation.

PART ONE: ETHNIC SOURCES IN HAWAI'I

PREFACE

Bernhard L. Hormann
and
Andrew W. Lind

The striking ethnic diversity among the residents of Hawai'i throughout the twentieth century has provided these Islands with many of their most distinctive social characteristics—traits of life and intercourse which set them off from most other parts of the world. Except, however, for the usual mention of the ethnic complexity of Hawai'i's population, there have been few attempts in the literature to present an inclusive picture of what these ethnic elements have been or of the part each has played in the development of the Islands.

One effort to fill this void for the benefit of students and the general public occurred in conjunction with the projected plans in 1974 to publish an "Encyclopedia of Hawai'i," as a central contribution to the 1976 American Bicentennial Celebration. The sixteen articles in the present volume, describing the central character of each of the recognized ethnic groups in Hawai'i and the major inter-relations among them were completed early in 1976 for publication later that year in the encyclopedia. When it finally became apparent that the Bicentennial Commission would be unable to complete its plans, other means for the publication of this special project were sought. Fortunately the editors of *Social Process in Hawai'i*, which had been revived in 1979, recognized the need for wide circulation of the knowledge and insights which these papers provided, and they offered a special edition of the journal for their publication. This decision was in keeping with the long-standing tradition of *Social Process*, dating from its founding in 1935, of featuring articles by students on their own culture and experience.

The writers in this venture had been selected on the basis of their active participation within and authentic knowledge of the specific ethnic community, usually from birth, but in every case from long-term experience, association, and research. Consequently, neither specific guidelines on content nor arbitrary

limits on the length of the articles were imposed. Since the articles were intended for the general reading public, it was suggested that documentation and the usual conventions of scholarship be kept to a minimum.

Each of these articles naturally reflects, however unintentionally, something of the singular life experience of the writer, and other qualified observers may interpret somewhat differently certain aspects of the ethnic records here presented. The special virtue of these accounts, however, consists in their having emerged from extensive "knowledge of acquaintance," and the direct association of qualified observers of the groups and their relationships in the broader inter-ethnic community of Hawai'i.

The dynamic nature of Hawai'i's economy during the present century and the continuous shifting in the ties to the rest of the world have naturally altered the nature and the functioning of the several ethnic groups. In the light of developments even since 1976, the writers of several of these papers, especially those dealing with inter-group relations, have incorporated revisions. The central emphasis throughout this volume, however, has been to present the experience within and between the recognized communities, as interpreted in the late 1970s by discerning and qualified participants. Some differences will, therefore, be recognized between these portrayals and the scattered accounts of specific ethnic groups at earlier periods. In the same way, it is to be assumed that further revisions and even deviations from the present analyses will appear in comparable studies in the future.

We greatly appreciate the assistance of Robert L. Scott, editor-in-chief of the proposed encyclopedia; Agnes Conrad, state archivist; and the editors of *Social Process in Hawai'i*, Michael Weinstein and Kiyoshi Ikeda.

IMMIGRATION TO HAWAI'I

Andrew W. Lind

The entire span of the immigration movement to Hawai'i extends intermittently over a period of more than 1,200 years—from the middle of the eighth century to the present. The arrival of the first human residents at these islands, however, continues to be an unresolved mystery, both as to when and how it occurred and whether the movement was purposely entered into or was the fortunate ending to a storm-tossed voyage by distant islanders seeking land into which to expand.

Archaeological evidence indicates that migrants from the Marquesas Islands must have survived such an adventure and lived on in Hawai'i as early as A.D. 750.[1] Even wider barriers of 2,200 miles (3,540 km) of open sea were conquered in outrigger canoes by emigrants from Tahiti between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, following which Hawai'i was again lost in the vast expanses of the Pacific for more than 400 years. Even after the discovery of Hawai'i by Captain Cook in 1778, the physical isolation of the Islands was too great and their resources were apparently too limited to attract any large-scale immigration for nearly another hundred years.

Traders as Immigrants

The knowledge brought back to the Western world of a group of small islands in the north Pacific, distant more than 2,000 miles (3,220 km) from its nearest continental or sizable island neighbors, did encourage the captains of European and American ships, engaged in trade between Asia and America, to seek harborage at Hawai'i ports. Here they could restock with fresh water, fuel, and fruits and vegetables, make necessary repairs to their ships and equipment, and possibly recruit natives as additions to their crew. Except for the occasional sailors who found the charms of the setting and of life among the aborigines sufficiently tempting to "jump ship," until well along in the nineteenth century there were surprisingly few residents who could be called immigrants in the sense of "entering into an alien country intending to take part in

the life of that country and to make it their more or less permanent home."

The historian James Jarves states that in 1810 the number of whites on O'ahu, embracing the majority of non-Hawaiians, "amounted to sixty, some of whom were sober and industrious and much respected by the chiefs, but the generality were idle and dissolute, held in restraint only by the authority of the king."[2] One of the most reliable accounts, by a British resident on the island at that time, indicates that the "great majority had been left by American vessels," but the number "was constantly varying and was considerably diminished" within the year of his convalescent residence.[3] Prior to the arrival of the first American missionaries in 1820, foreign-born residents of the Islands were few in number and consisted of transients—predominantly sailors, a few traders, beachcombers, and adventurers.

In the strict sense of entering a foreign country for purposes of settlement, the small company of thirty-four New England missionaries who came to Hawai'i between 1820 and 1830 were the first modern immigrants, but of this number only twenty-four stayed for the remainder of their lives. The presence, however, of this small number of committed settlers, because it included women and children, offered a nucleus of a foreign community to which visiting traders, ship captains, and sailors could attach themselves, if they were inclined to settle in the Islands. By 1853, according to the official census, a sizable group of 1,828 persons from at least thirty-three different countries had either drifted or purposely migrated to one or another of seven islands of Hawai'i, chiefly, of course, to the port towns.[4] Although constituting only 2.5 percent of the entire population, the immigrants, together with their children born in Hawai'i, made up fully one-tenth of the residents in Honolulu, the one community of urban proportions. The great majority of the foreign-born at this time (80 percent) were either American, British, or Chinese, and were occupied chiefly as tradesmen or artisans, although close to 80 percent of the 364 foreign-born Chinese enumerated in that census had arrived in Hawai'i only the previous year, recruited as plantation laborers and household servants.

Assisted Labor Immigration[5]

The company of 293 Chinese men imported by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1852 as contract laborers was the initial wave of a veritable flood of

approximately 400,000 workers who were to transform the racial complexion and character of the population during the course of the next 80 to 100 years. European and American planters early recognized the greater assurance of the continuity and control over workers recruited from abroad than over the available native workers who might agree to work for a limited time, but who could readily satisfy their basic needs without submitting to an arduous plantation regime. Until at least ten years after enactment of the 1876 Reciprocity Treaty, admitting Island sugar duty-free to the American market, the number of adult natives would have been quite adequate to man all the plantations if there had been any adequate motivation for them to do so. Since enslavement of the native population, a practice common in developing plantation frontiers elsewhere, was out of the question under the Hawaiian monarchy, planters fell back on the other alternative of imported labor under contract to serve for a period, usually of three to five years, enforceable by law.

For a period of twelve years following importation of the Chinese in 1852, there was no further sustained effort by either planters or government to encourage immigration. Once the door had been opened, however, the pressure of population, particularly in China, was such as to encourage a substantial flow of emigrants almost indefinitely, some of whom managed to provide their own transportation. The increasing market in America for sugar, occasioned by the Civil War, led to the establishment in 1864 of a government Bureau of Immigration "for the purpose of superintending the importation of foreign laborers, and the introduction of immigrants." The hope of Hawaiian royalty and government administrators that the continuing decline of the native population might thereby be reversed was unquestionably a central consideration in the support given to this bureau, but its principal activities were devoted to recruiting plantation labor.

The possibility of reinforcing the Islands' limited labor resources from the surplus which might exist elsewhere was examined in the most diverse areas of the world, and workers were canvassed and shipped to Hawai'i from such different regions as South China, the Madeira and Azores Islands, numerous islands in the Pacific of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, from the Philippines, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Siberia, the United States, Puerto Rico, Spain, Italy, Poland, Austria, Germany, Norway, and Russia. Costs involved in recruiting and transportation and their amenability

Chronology and Composition of Labor Immigration, 1852-1946

Ethnic Designation	Period of Arrival in Hawaii	Approximate Number of Immigrants	Percentage Composition Men	Women	Children	Dialectal Type or Area of Homeland from which Largely Recruited
Chinese	1852-1885	28,000	98	2	0	Chiefly from Kwangtung Province, Few Fukinese Punti dialect (Chungshan); Hakka (near Hong Kong)
	1886-1897	27,000	89	6	5	
Portuguese	1878-1886	10,700	31	23	46	Madeira and Azores Islands
	1906-1913	5,500	34	23	43	
South Pacific Islanders	1859-1884	2,500	77	12	11	Gilbert Islanders, Fijians, Melanesians (New Hebrides, Solomons), Marquesans, Tahitians
Norwegians	1881	600	67	13	20	Vicinity of Oslo and Drammen, Norway
Germans	1881-1888, 1897	1,300	46	18	36	Northwestern Germany near Bremen and Nienburg
Japanese	1868, 1885-97	45,000	81	18	1	Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, and Okinawa Prefectures chiefly
	1898-1907	114,000	81	18	1	
Galicians	1898	370	62	13	25	
U.S. Negroes	1901	100	--	--	--	Louisiana and Alabama
Puerto Ricans	1900-1901, 1921	6,000	59	41		Recruited in Ponce and San Juan
Koreans	1903-1905	7,900	85	9	6	Southern Korea
Russians	1906, 1909-1912	2,400	52	22	26	Siberia, Manchuria
Spanish	1907-1913	8,000	34	27	39	Southwestern Spain, Malaga, Cadiz, Granada
Filipinos	1907-1932	119,000	87	8	5	Initially Tagalogs near Manila,
	1946	7,300	82	6	12	Later Visayans and Ilocanos

and efficiency as plantation laborers were primary factors in deciding which regions immigrants were to be drawn from and their number and sex.

South China, as the source of the first and largest potential for contract laborers, could readily have supplied all the workers required on Hawai'i plantations until the time of annexation, when American exclusion laws were applied to the Islands. The early recognition, however, that the desired control over the work force could be more readily exercised if it did not consist exclusively of a single ethnic group led Island planters to practice diversification. Although most of the many Chinese admitted to Hawai'i between 1852 and 1898 came from Kwangtung province and were known as Cantonese, the earliest labor immigrants came from Fukien province, and the dialectal and other cultural differences between or within the Hakka and Punti groups from village to village figured in the effectiveness of the control which the planters could exercise.

Quantitative data relating to the labor migrations to Hawai'i are plentiful, but, covering as they do such an extended time span (1852 to 1946), such varied ethnic groups and diverse administering agencies, great care is required in the use and interpretation of such information. The following tabulation is intended primarily to indicate the sequential order and something of the circumstances under which these groups arrived in the Islands.

It should be noted that the data on the number of immigrants and their proportion among the two sexes and children are designated as approximate, because of the inconsistencies and gaps in the recording. Especially in the case of the larger groups from the Orient, where it was possible for immigrants to return to their homeland for a visit and later re-enter Hawai'i a second or more times, there were no certain means of eliminating duplications. Consequently the figures cited on the number of labor immigrants from China, Japan, and the Philippines probably suffer more from such statistical inaccuracies than the data on the immigrant flow from other parts of the world. The age at which a child was counted as an adult has also varied from time to time.

The one recurring issue confronting promoters of immigration throughout the period of plantation dominance was to achieve some balance between the concerns of the planters in obtaining an adequate supply of

hardy, disciplined workers at minimum expense and those of the government in restoring the declining native population. Quite clearly the overriding interest was economic, resulting in a higher proportion of adult males than of adult women from all the regions drawn upon, notably so among those from China, Korea, and the Philippines. Despite efforts by the government of Hawai'i to require a specified percentage of women among immigrants—a minimum of 25 women to every 100 men at the height of the Chinese migration in the early 1880s, and comparable ratios among other immigrants—subsequent customs and census returns indicate such regulations had not been followed at all strictly. According to the 1884 census, for example, the ratio of women was less than one in twenty in the entire Chinese population of the Islands, and, more than forty years after the end of Chinese labor immigration, there were still 2.3 times as many men as women among their foreign-born residents of Hawai'i.

Intervention of governments in certain countries from which labor immigrants were recruited obviously helped maintain a fairly normal age and sex distribution among the new arrivals. Where, however, the ratio of adult males greatly exceeded 50 percent, as it did so commonly, Hawai'i was bound to experience for years afterwards a legacy of social problems—vice, violence, and the personal despondency of any population lacking the immediate support of family and kinship ties. The high rate of interethnic marriage among immigrant groups with the highest disproportions of males has been, of course, one of the positive accommodations. In the case of the larger labor groups—especially the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos whose migrations continued over a considerable period of time—the later movements consisted less disproportionately of males than the earlier ones. This was partly a consequence of the reassurance brought back to the women and families in their native communities by immigrants who had made a satisfactory adjustment in Hawai'i. Among the Japanese and the Koreans, to a lesser degree, the "picture-bride" movement after 1907 played an important part in hastening the building of a balanced population structure. Thus, among the roughly 50,000 Japanese who arrived in Hawai'i from the Orient between 1908, when the "Gentleman's Agreement" took effect, and 1924, following the Oriental Exclusion Act, there was a marked excess of females over males.

The great majority of the nearly 400,000 persons—men, women, and children—brought to Hawai'i between 1852 and 1946 as part of the labor migrations came

under the auspices and at the expense of either or both the planters and the Hawaiian government (prior to 1898), and they were settled soon after clearance by customs and immigration agents in plantation communities scattered around the Islands. Relatively few of the immigrants, however, remained permanently on the plantations, and movement from plantations to urban or independent farming areas of Hawai'i, back to their homeland, or to the American mainland, made it necessary, over such a long period of time, continuously to bring in new supplies of workers.

Because the departure from Hawai'i was either complete or extremely heavy among South Pacific Islanders, the Galicians, Russians, and Spanish, these groups virtually disappeared as separate entities in the population structure of the Islands before the close of the plantation era. Real or alleged economic opportunities in California of greater appeal than those in Hawai'i have been chiefly responsible for the very considerable emigration from Hawai'i of Japanese during the first decade of this century, of smaller numbers of Portuguese (along with the Spanish) during the first two decades, and of Filipinos during the second and third decades. It was generally the young unmarried men who were most likely to embark on another migration adventure, while men encumbered with family responsibilities more commonly remained.

Promise of free transportation back to their homeland, following a specified period of satisfactory employment in Hawai'i, was one of the strong inducements to immigration, especially among Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, and one of which many subsequently took advantage. Many of the "returnees," however, discovered that either they or the situation in their native villages had changed so markedly that life in Hawai'i seemed the preferable alternative, and consequently some became immigrants to Hawai'i a second time, at their own expense and without any guarantee of plantation employment. Unfortunately the official records afford no means of measuring the extent of this movement.

The direct impact on Hawai'i's population of the labor immigration on behalf of sugar and pineapple plantations is perhaps epitomized in data of the 1930 Census indicating that nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of all the people residing in the Territory at that time were either themselves such migrants or their offspring. Despite the later transformations in Hawai'i's economy from plantation agriculture to one

maintained primarily by military and tourist expenditures, it could be said fifty years later that close to half of the people living in Hawai'i were themselves plantation immigrants or their descendants.

Marginal Forms of Immigration

Annexation of Hawai'i as a Territory of the United States in 1898 brought immediate consequences both as to the volume and the nature of the movements of outsiders to the Islands. During the three decades after Annexation, the planters were responsible for introducing a veritable flood of more than 250,000 laborers, chiefly from Japan and the Philippines, but also including Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Italians, American Negroes, and Russians. This sudden torrent was partly in response to the demands of expanding plantation production, but also to conform with American labor laws.[6] Moreover, the exemption of workers after 1898 from the penal labor system, under which so many of the earlier plantation employees were bound by Hawaiian law, was reflected almost immediately in a disposition among the workers to test this new freedom by moving about—to the expected greater opportunities on the American mainland or back to the homeland. Increasingly Hawai'i became for many people from abroad, not the site of permanent settlement for immigrants, but a way-station or stepping-stone for "in-migrants and out-migrants," the terms more commonly and accurately used since Annexation.

Much the same trends developed, although for different reasons, with the in-migration from continental U.S. following Annexation. A large, although indeterminate number of young American males, chiefly from the West Coast, were enticed to the Islands as a newly discovered frontier in which to find adventure and fortune. But instead of the open opportunity they had anticipated, the limited economic possibilities in fields other than low-paying plantation labor were largely occupied by industrious Oriental competitors, which drove many Mainlanders home in disgust. Nevertheless, a striking increase of the "Other Caucasian" (Haole) population more than five times in the course of thirty years—from 8,547 in 1900 to 44,895 in 1930—indicated that a sizable portion had found opportunities at skilled, proprietary, and professional levels, where neither native Hawaiians nor labor immigrants could at that time offer much competition.

One of the earliest and most dramatic expressions of the transiency of the "in-migration" from the Mainland has occurred among the armed forces. From a relatively small contingent of 245 in 1900, their numbers at the time of the decennial census had mounted to 4,366 in 1920, to 27,000 in 1940, to 53,000 in 1960, and to 56,000 in 1970. During World War II, there were times when troops stationed on the Islands greatly exceeded the civilian population in numbers, and most of the more than half a million men poised for the final attack on Japan "went ashore on Oahu a number of times." Throughout most of the postwar period, the military personnel, together with their resident dependents, have numbered no fewer than 100,000 persons, and ranging from 13 to 16 percent of the total population.

Although certainly in-migrants to Hawai'i, these massive additions to the resident population cannot be thought of as immigrants. The overwhelming majority expect to have a "tour of duty" in the Pacific, lasting not more than two or three years. Especially since World War II, there has been a limited number of both officers and enlisted personnel or members of their families who have become sufficiently attracted by their sampling of Island life to take permanent discharge here, either as a place of retirement or to enter some civilian occupation. This differs markedly, however, from the war and prewar situations when Hawai'i was commonly known as "the Rock" and identified as a "foreign exile" to be terminated as quickly as possible.

Statehood in 1959 again focused widespread attention on Hawai'i, both in the American mainland and elsewhere in the world, resulting in extensive "in-migration." During the ten years immediately following the close of World War II, there had been a net outward movement of approximately 73,000 civilians,[7] chiefly Mainlanders, including defense workers, returning "home." Beginning, however, in 1955, partly in anticipation of the passage of statehood, the net flow back to the Mainland was reversed, and continued so for the next twenty years.

A further analysis of in-migrants from the Mainland over this same period reveals that they were preponderantly male and relatively young, with a median age of 24.2 years; that they came notably from the three western states; and that those with occupations were to a high degree (60 percent or more) of relatively high status in professional, technical, business,

managerial, or office jobs.[8] Quite clearly a large, although unknown, proportion of the arrivals were young American "floaters" of both sexes, without occupational moorings, who were seeking some outlet for their restlessness and uncertainties. They found at least temporary harborage in the so-called "hippie jungles," the religious communes, and the surfing settlements which have developed on the major islands, and a few of these establish more or less permanent attachments to the Islands, including the means of livelihood.

Immigration Since 1965[9]

The National Immigration Act of 1965, while reflecting a significant liberalizing in attitudes toward the outside world throughout the nation, probably had a more profound effect on the day-to-day experience in Hawai'i than elsewhere. On the basis of the seven-fold principle of preference introduced in the act, it eliminated the national origin system which had prevailed since 1924, and thus opened Hawai'i to a much larger flow of the family mmebers and relatives of its citizens and alien residents of Oriental ancestry than had been possible before. The act also had provisions for the entry of professional personnel and both skilled and unskilled workers, depending upon the certification of their need. Although the number of immigrant entries available to any single country outside the Western hemisphere was set at 20,000 a year, this was still greatly in excess of the number available to the countries of Asia in the past and has assisted greatly in reuniting families and reestablishing kinship ties for the large population of Oriental ancestry in Hawai'i. Data as to the number of alien immigrants intending to reside in Hawai'i and admitted during the ten years 1970-1979 reveal a continuing dominance of the four countries of Asia which played such a prominent part in the earlier labor immigration, although in a somewhat different order of prominence—Philippines, 38,789; Korea, 11,239; Japan, 4,700; and China and Taiwan, 4,618. Together, these four countries provided 82 percent of all alien immigrants to Hawai'i during this ten-year period. The largest number of immigrant aliens from any other country who expected to reside in Hawai'i was from Canada, numbering a mere 921 persons, or 1.3 percent of the total. During the years 1961-75, Hawai'i received more alien immigrants in proportion to its population than any other state—for example,

in 1974 roughly 4.4 times that of the national average—and a disproportionate number of them refugees from Southeast Asia.

Unquestionably, economic factors were important in this latest type of immigration, but they have not exercised the exclusive and dominating influence they did at the beginning of the century. Selection of the emigrants has likewise been from higher economic level strata in the homeland or with sponsors in Hawai'i better situated to provide for them during the difficult adjustments after their arrival. It is quite clear, too, that, except for the refugees, the new arrivals are far better educated and more technically competent than their precursors of earlier generations. Their inability, at least at the outset, to find occupational outlets in Hawai'i commensurate with their status in the homeland has also been more trying. The age and sex distribution among the recent in-migrants has been much more nearly comparable to that of Hawai'i's residing population.

These islands, so remote from other highly populated regions and so limited in natural resources for earning a livelihood, still continue to attract immigrants from all continents and the island areas of the oceans. Although the 1979 registration of 69,622 aliens constituted only 7.6 percent of the entire resident population of the state, the following list of only the fourteen largest contributing regions, reflects a worldwide appeal which Hawai'i evidently continues to exercise: Philippines, 33,163; Japan, 13,090; Korea, 6,123; China, 3,485; United Kingdom, 1,939; Canada, 1,861; Vietnam, 1,732; Germany, 687; Western Samoa, 651; Laos, 602; Thailand, 437; Tonga, 426, and Australia, 418. The global distribution of Hawai'i's recent in-migrants is further accentuated by the inclusion of sizable numbers of aliens (100-399) from Mexico, France, West Indies, Portugal, Netherlands, New Zealand, South and Central America, Fiji, and the U.S. Trust Territory. It is also apparent, however, from the very much larger number of aliens admitted in recent years as intended residents, that these islands serve as convenient stepping-stones to the supposedly wider economic opportunities in states on the mainland.

Notes

1. Dates and distances chiefly derived from Ben R. Finney, "New Perspectives on Polynesian Voyaging," in Roland W. Force, *Polynesian Culture History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967).

2. James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu, 1847), p. 92.

3. Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World from 1806-1812* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), p. 118.

4. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 104-105.

5. The sociological background and significance of this phenomenon are further elaborated in *An Island Community*, pp. 188-244.

6. Much of the statistical data, relating to the movement of population in and out of Hawaii for the period 1898-1938, are contained in the reports of the U.S. Department of Labor on Hawaii, especially of the years 1902, 1903, 1905, 1911, 1916, and 1939; and in sections on immigration and labor in Annual Reports of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior, 1901-1932.

7. Robert C. Schmitt, "Recent Migration Trends in Hawaii," *Social Process* 25 (1961), p. 18.

8. Department of Planning and Economic Development, "Hawaii's In-migrants, 1977," *Statistical Report 123* (1978).

9. Statistics for this section are largely derived from the annual reports of the State Immigrant Services Center, 1973-1980, and from *The State of Hawaii Data Book, 1980* (Honolulu: State Department of Planning and Economic Development).

THE NEW HAWAIIANS

George S. Kanahele

Hawaiians, pure Hawaiians, are a dying race. When Captain Cook arrived, 1,000 years or so after the first Polynesian settlers discovered the Islands, there were an estimated 300,000 Hawaiians. A century later their number had declined an appalling 80 percent, decimated by introduced diseases—measles, syphilis, even the common cold. By 1976 there were fewer than 8,000 full-blooded descendants, although one authority claims the correct figure is closer to 1,000. Pockets of them survive in such places as Ke'anae, Hana, and Kaupo on Maui, and on the privately owned island of Ni'ihau, but it is only a matter of time before the last pure Hawaiians will disappear from the face of the earth.

There are, however, over 140,000 part-Hawaiians who constitute about 18 percent of the total population. These so-called "hyphenated Hawaiians" are also the most rapidly expanding ethnic group, and if they continue to increase at the present rate (nearly 30 percent of babies born here in 1973 were part-Hawaiian), by the year 2000 there may be as many part-Hawaiians as there once were pure Hawaiians.

These are the modern Hawaiians, a vastly different people from their ancient progenitors. Two centuries of enormous, almost cataclysmic change imposed from within and without have altered their conditions, outlooks, attitudes, and values. Although some traditional practices and beliefs have been retained, even these have been modified. In general, today's Hawaiians have little familiarity with the ancient culture.

Not only are present-day Hawaiians a different people, they are also a very heterogeneous and amorphous group. While their ancestors once may have been unified politically, religiously, socially, and culturally, contemporary Hawaiians are highly differentiated in religion, education, occupation, politics, and even in their claims to Hawaiian identity. Few commonalities bind them, although there is a continuous quest to find and develop stronger ties. In short, they are as diverse in their individual and collective character as any other ethnic population.

Malihini no na keiki o ko la kou aina pono'i iho—'the children of the land are strangers in their own land'. It is an observation often made about those who once possessed a proud civilization and all the lands and resources of the Islands. Now they are the most dispossessed and disadvantaged of Island peoples. The cumulative material and psychological destruction has also left them disillusioned, alienated—and in serious trouble.

The evidence is compelling: Hawaiians are more than half of the population of the State youth correction facility, almost half of the residents in adult correctional facilities, and a high percentage of those on parole. They also lead all other ethnic groups in serious crimes committed and arrests in proportion to their percentage of the population.

Economically, Hawaiians are at the bottom of the ladder, with one of the lowest income averages of any ethnic group. Hawaiians are the largest racial group —27 percent—on State welfare and occupy the greatest number of public housing units. Less than 1 percent of Island doctors and lawyers are of Hawaiian extraction.

Hawaiian schoolchildren have one of the highest rates of absenteeism, suspension, and dropping out. Less than half of Hawaiians over twenty-five have completed high school or, put another way, Hawaiians number 30 percent of the school population but only 5 percent of high school graduates. Of course the percentage of college graduates is even smaller; in fact Hawaiians comprise only 10 percent of enrollment in the University of Hawai'i system.

Not all Hawaiians are so disadvantaged, but the effects of this litany of failure are shared by all. As one Hawaiian put it, "Too many of us are overwhelmed by our own sense of inadequacy and feelings of inferiority."

For many Hawaiians this negative self-image becomes deeply imbedded at a young age. According to a study of Hawaiian youths on the island of Hawai'i—fittingly entitled "Stranger In Their Own Land"—frustration and failure in school result in self-disparagment. The "dumb Hawaiian" has become "a living, breathing self-image" by the age of eighteen. This is manifested in their narrow selection of work options, pretty much confined to service occupations, unskilled and semi-skilled labor. In other words, they rule themselves out of the professions, management, technical and

scientific fields. The study concludes that the sense of self-disparagment is heightened by awareness of the rewards of achievement in school.

For many older Hawaiians the sense of inadequacy does not abate with maturity but becomes more ingrained. A noted authority on adult Hawaiian social behavior observes: "Too many Hawaiians, young and old, have a poor self-image. It's a vicious cycle because you can't expect parents who have a low opinion of their status to really do much for the self-image of their children."

The negative self-image is somewhat reflected in the unflattering popular stereotype that non-Hawaiians have long held—the fun-loving, lazy, undisciplined native. As with any stereotype, there is a great deal of distortion, as many non-Hawaiians would readily concede, but nonetheless it still has wide currency. This is partly reflected in the habit of local comedians, especially Hawaiian comedians, to poke fun at the lazy, too-fat, and "dumb" Hawaiians, although it must be said in fairness that ethnic jokes are popular and that every ethnic group gets its share of jokes at its expense.

The lazy Hawaiian stereotype is partly a throwback to early days of the sugar industry when haole planters failed to get Hawaiians to do the backbreaking, routine labor required. They were tabbed as lazy when, in fact, they simply did not care for the highly routine labor, nor for existing conditions and economic incentives. Objective historians and serious students all attest to the capacity of Hawaiians for hard work, especially when it involves a worthwhile goal and work with others in a group.

There is a positive side to the stereotype, which also describes Hawaiians as warm, generous, open, and carefree. There is an element of truth in this, although in the highly competitive, individualistic American society such virtues are difficult to practice. But the stereotype is also distorted by the purveyors of tourism who glamorize Hawaiians as exotic products of the tropics who love to surf, dance, play music, fish, and swim. To be sure, many Hawaiians do, but there are probably as many others who prefer other pastimes.

Stereotypes are, like statistical averages, only abstractions, but to the extent that they influence thought and action they are potent realities. It is

difficult to ascertain their impact on Hawaiian behavior, but a mental health authority suggests it has been damaging, particularly since it was never actually tested. For example, the "dumb Hawaiian" image stems in part from ignorance of the obstacles built into the school system whose values and standards are those of a haole middle class and whose teachers are trained and oriented to the same. Brought up in familial and communal settings with different values and concepts, Hawaiian students often have been turned off by school. Efforts have been made by the Department of Education and The Kamehameha Schools to develop and adapt special curriculum material and teaching methods for Hawaiian students, but only on a limited basis.

The stereotype betrays a certain amount of ambivalence and condescension, if not superiority, that non-Hawaiians feel for Hawaiians. The ambivalence, it is suggested, comes in part from a feeling of guilt and remorse about destruction of the old way of life and a need to make restitution for the loss. The sense of superiority has been manifested in manifold ways, from selective hiring to outright declarations of "I'm better than you are." On the other hand, non-Hawaiians have also shown admiration for the Hawaiian capacity to be hospitable and warm, to show aloha. For example, Hawaiians are regularly praised for being the true representatives of the aloha spirit, although to some this appears a bit contrived because of its obvious connection with the tourism industry.

Non-Hawaiians as a whole appear sympathetic to Hawaiians. They show increasing concern for Hawaiian problems and no longer regard them simply as matters to be dealt with by Hawaiian institutions alone. Conversely, Hawaiians are more ready to admit their problems are also problems of the community at large. (It is a point that has been made by the director of Hawaiian Home Lands, an agency long regarded as an orphan among State bureaucracies.) Non-Hawaiians also show greater and more active interest in the full scope of Hawaiiana—the hula, crafts, music, language, sports, and so on, indeed, so much so that being Hawaiian is becoming almost a vogue among non-Hawaiians.

Hawaiian reaction to such overtures ranges through suspicion, ambivalence, condescension, and good will. Many are suspicious because they feel the last 200 years of their history have involved exploitation, deprivation, and shame. Suspicion is particularly manifest among low-income groups to whom offers of help or demonstrations of interest by non-Hawaiians or

outsiders often appear as attempts to manipulate and exploit. On the other hand, many Hawaiians temper such feelings, if they have any at all, with an innate desire to 'make things right' (*ho'oponopono*). This is especially true of some older Hawaiians who believe reconciliation to be the Hawaiian way, as opposed to the confrontations which young Hawaiians seem to prefer.

Among Hawaiians there is a new kind of awareness about themselves and their problems. It is what some have called a psychological renewal—taking stock of what they are, as measured against what they want to be—an awareness evolved over a period of years. In part it involves recognition of their disadvantaged position vis-à-vis other ethnic groups, or what someone has described as "the discovery of their deprived status." But it also involves conscious effort to raise the level of their individual and collective aspirations and a resolve to achieve, at whatever the cost, a status equal to, if not better than, that of others in the community. In actuality, what is happening is part of the quest for a higher sense of communal pride and renewed sense of identity as Hawaiians, a search that has fluctuated in speed and intensity but never ceased.

This Hawaiian resurgence is most marked in politics and culture, and to a lesser extent in education and economics. The greatest activity—in terms of numbers participating, scope, and continuity—appears to be taking place in the cultural field. Some believe it is a genuine cultural renaissance, while others fear it may be faddish and a passing thing. But the evidence points to sustained and accelerated development.

To appreciate what is happening now, one need only recall the remark by a local cynic not too long ago that he was going to write the obituary for Hawaiian culture, for, like pure Hawaiians, it, too, was dying. The Hawaiian language was becoming an exotic anachronism for a few academic dilettantes. Hawaiian music was already in its death throes because hardly anybody listened to it and fewer played or knew very much about it. The hula, too, was on its last legs because it was being burlesqued into something unrecognizable and largely replaced by Maori poi balls, the flaming swords of Samoan dancers, and the Tahitian *tamure*. Hawaiian crafts had vanished from sight; Hawaiian games, except for surfing and canoeing, were extinct, etc., etc., etc.

But current cultural activism announces renewed pride and ethnic consciousness. First of all, the Hawaiian language is still very much alive. Young Hawaiians take keen interest in studying and teaching it, something almost unheard of until very recently. More students learn the language in schools and the university today than at any time in the recent past. In fact, interest in Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i is so high that more instructors and money are required every year. Training young language teachers will likely lead to teaching positions in public schools, in turn creating more students at a much wider and younger level. And for the first time in years radio stations carry live Hawaiian-language programs. Since language is the key to the health and strength of a culture, this new interest, shown by young people in particular, is of great importance.

Hawaiian music has made a remarkable recovery from its near-fatal drowning in the cacophony of rock 'n' roll. While exact figures are hard to come by, the Hawaiian Music Foundation reports there are very likely more Hawaiians learning to sing and play their music, more teaching and more performing it, than at any time in the past decade. For the first time in recent memory, schools (*hālau*) offering instruction in steel guitar, slack key guitar, the making and playing of ancient Hawaiian instruments, and other such subjects have been established. More students are now learning to play the steel guitar—invented by a Hawaiian—than ever before. More serious research and writing on Hawaiian music are under way and, for the first time in Hawai'i history, a regular publication devoted entirely to Hawaiian music is available. Efforts by the music foundation and other organizations to create interest among Hawaiians, and non-Hawaiians as well is unprecedented.

The hula, outlawed by early missionaries and then revived by Kalakaua in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, is recovering, as spectacularly as the *mele*. Hula has enjoyed popularity for many years, but never as great as now. There are now many more hula studios, instructors, and pupils—and notably males. The fact that more male Hawaiians are learning hula is extremely significant because, although it was often the male who performed the hula in ancient Hawai'i, any boy doing hula in modern Hawai'i was called a sissy. Now hundreds of boys of all ages perform. There is now greater interest in both teaching and performing ancient hula of all types. There is also keener interest among professional dancers in hotels and nightclubs in perfecting skills and authenticating performances. In fact, in much Hawaiian entertainment offered to tourists lately there is much greater tendency to be authentic.

There is further evidence of Hawaiian cultural resurgence in such sports activities as canoeing. Not too many years ago a Hawaiian canoe was a rare sight, but today there are many, and many more being built. Canoe racing has been resurrected and there are clubs on all major islands, with over 5,000 members, male and female, organized into statewide associations competing on a regular basis. While many non-Hawaiians participate, there has never been anything on this scale in over 100 years. The level of interest grew spectacularly with the construction of the 60-foot (18-meter) double-hulled voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a* in 1974-1976 and its achievement in twice retracing the immigration route of Polynesian voyagers.

Other indications of cultural revival may be found in such things as feather-work, the study and practice of Hawaiian medicine, and in handicraft work. Many other obscure and little-known aspects of the culture are being revived by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike.

Politically, the new awareness has moved Hawaiians from passivity to dynamic, and at times militant, activism. Issues range from land rights to educational opportunities; groups consisting mostly of educated, middle-class, youth-oriented individuals have been involved in what has been called the "brown power" movement which, predictably, has waxed hot and cold as issues have arisen or subsided or as individuals and groups have emerged and dispersed. But it appears that the political consciousness of Hawaiians, especially of the young, has been stirred to the point at which the movement will sustain itself for a long while.

An example of militancy is the dramatic, and well-publicized, protest against the Bishop Estate—a large landowner whose income supports The Kamehameha Schools—by a group called Kokua Kalama (Help Kalama). They had objected to the estate's attempt in early 1971 to remove tenant farmers from Kalama valley, which the estate owned, and with a series of demonstrations tried to stop the removal. The incident dramatized an avowed purpose of the group to alter the society's power structure, dominated in part by big landholders. The open hostility, revolutionary rhetoric (some

favorite terms included *i mua*, or 'forward', and *huli* 'overturn') and the tactics of the group separated it from other Hawaiian groups, but while its style shocked many Hawaiians, in the words of a former activist "We at least shook 'em up and made them think—and made ourselves heard." For Kokua Kalama, which soon faded away, getting a hearing seemed to be the entire point.

Another fervent "nativist" group in the same period was The Hawaiians whose target was the Hawaiian Homes Commission, a State agency administering 190,000 acres (77,000 hectares) of land set aside for homesteading by native Hawaiians. The activist group complained that the commission had failed to make enough land available for qualified Hawaiians, some of whom had been waiting up to fifteen years for homesteads or home sites. They also objected that much land was leased to non-Hawaiians and corporations, and for very low rentals.

While the group focused on the Hawaiian Homes Commission, its larger goal was to gain "justice" for the Hawaiians, to improve their social and economic position, and to restore racial pride. According to its leader: "We don't want to go back to being the 'sleepy Hawaiians'." Claiming more than 7,000 members by 1972, The Hawaiians was the largest politicized group of its kind, yet by 1975 it, too, had receded into the background. But there would be other groups to take its place.

Less militant, far more vocal, and all-inclusive was another organization, the Congress of the Hawaiian People, formed in an attempt to bring together under one organizational umbrella the proliferating groups. Although its nominal head was the Rev. Abraham Akaka, a long-time champion of Hawaiian causes, actual leadership was entrusted to younger, more outspoken Hawaiian activists. It espoused and promoted a wide range of Hawaiian causes and activities in order to unify or coordinate the various groups—an elusive goal which in part seems to have contributed to Congress ineffectiveness. Later another organization, the Council of Hawaiian Organizations, was established as a loose confederation of Hawaiian groups. It provided a forum for regular contact and a minimal degree of coordination. Both the Council and the Congress were direct responses to the need for direction and solidarity by "brown power." They pointed to the perennial problem of finding leaders and issues around which Hawaiians can rally. So far no leader—no Kamehameha—has emerged, but there is an issue.

The issue concerns former Crown Lands, taken first by the revolutionary Americans who formed the Republic of Hawai'i and then by the United States without compensation when Hawai'i was annexed in 1898. Inspired by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act which won large reparations from the government, the ALOHA (acronym for Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry) organization was formed in 1972 to seek $1 billion in reparations from Washington. While some Hawaiians had certain reservations about ALOHA leaders and tactics, no one denied that Crown Lands were taken and that it was now fair to seek compensation. How much compensation there should be, how it should be administered, and by whom and for what are among many questions proving troublesome, but there is an issue of importance with which almost all Hawaiians—and many non-Hawaiians as well—can identify. It is one of the most significant issues to come along in the last seventy years, but, despite that, it is doubtful whether the issue could have ignited the interest it has among Hawaiians, let alone non-Hawaiians, if there had not been the kind of Hawaiian consciousness that has generated the existing cultural and political resurgence. For Hawaiians, land is the most gut-level type of issue and is, therefore, closest to their sense of identity. Thus, to restore their lands is to restore their identity; to restore their identity is to return their sense of pride; and to return their pride is to rebuild their confidence.

An important dimension of Hawaiian resurgence is the rise of Hawaiian entrepreneurship, with more and more young Hawaiians entering business. Not too many years ago a Hawaiian businessman was so rare that it was commonly thought Hawaiians had no aptitude, a notion being changed as well-educated, young, competitive, achievement-oriented Hawaiians take up business careers. A recent study reported that several hundred Hawaiians now occupy management positions, including a few corporate presidencies, enjoying high incomes and all the other amenities of affluence.

In 1973 the Hawaiian Businessmen's Association was formed, the first such organization in modern Island history. Most members are young (below forty-five), but there are also older Hawaiians long established as successful executives. A prime purpose is to assit others interested in starting a business or pursuing a business career, especially young Hawaiians. On the premise that economics and politics go hand-in-hand, there is strong political orientation, although association leadership has no close links with any of the above-mentioned political activist groups.

This advance marks an important shift in Hawaiian occupational patterns—and reflects similar changes inevitable in other fields. Although it may take years before Hawaiians can make significant inroads into business power structure, this is a harbinger of a better economic future. It is also a source of pride that Hawaiians will be able to lead in an area from which they have been long excluded by other ethnic groups and thereby play a larger role in shaping the destiny of the state.

It has been said that Hawaiians have considered the past more important than the future, but events chronicled here suggest that "new" Hawaiians look to both the past and the future—the past for a sense of identity and the future for a greater role. Whatever that role may be, Hawaiians are agreed the road is long and arduous, one they must travel just as the Chinese, Japanese, and other ethnic groups have done.

Hawaiians must be educated and trained, not only in order to find better jobs but also to be able to compete successfully. More Hawaiians must seek positions in the professional and managerial world where leadership often bestows influence and power. Hawaiians must make sacrifices in order to achieve economic security and social respectability. They must also consolidate their numerical strength and organize themselves effectively so they can obtain political office and greater control over their own lives . . . and more.

If Hawaiians are to play any role at all in Hawai'i, they must retain their identity. It is the sum total of their human qualities, attitudes and values, their customs and traditions, and their history that makes them distinctive and unique as a people—and as a great resource. This distinctiveness and uniqueness can give strength, character, and purpose to Hawai'i as a pluralistic community with its delicate balance of competing ethnic "communities." In other words, Hawaiians and their Hawaiian-ness give Hawai'i its strongest sense of identity, to which all Island people—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Korean, or Caucasian—can relate in a meaningful way, be it through Hawaiian music, dance, canoeing, or surfing, Hawaiian food, words and beliefs, the land or sea. In a real sense, Hawaiian-ness should eventually belong to anyone who claims or adopts Hawai'i as home. It is the common resource—*mana*—and to the extent that any person draws upon it, that person becomes Hawaiian.

The role Hawaiians are uniquely equipped to perform is that of helping all Island people become Hawaiians through a biological and spiritual fusion of the best qualities of all. Not all Hawaiians would concur with this, but it may happen anyway, in the natural evolution of Hawaiian society.

THE HAOLES

Bernhard L. Hormann

The Haoles of Hawai'i may be regarded as one of the component ethnic groups, since, uniquely in the United States, they are numerically a minority, like every other Island group. The term *haole* implies sufficient separateness, distinctiveness, and identifiability to make it comparable with the other ethnic groups.

"Haole" is by informal consensus the preferred term for "white" or "Caucasian." In official statistics Caucasian is used, except that the U.S. census, since statehood, has applied its Mainland categories, white and other races. There are problems connected with each term, Haole, Caucasian, and white. Haole today has connotations of "upper class" or "upper middle class." It may also connote "outsider" or "person who is not quite local." After annexation, the first U.S. census, in 1900, attempted simply to use its Mainland categories, white and colored, white when applied to Hawai'i, including "for the purposes of the census, Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, Caucasians, and South Sea Islanders," while "colored" covered Negro, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian. This seems to be how Caucasian, a term normally not used in the U.S. census and previously not used in Hawai'i, came to enter the population statistics of Hawai'i. It was a term to separate the "white" Americans and Europeans from the "white" Hawaiians, part-Hawaiians, and South Sea Islanders.

This usage of 1900, however, proved unsatisfactory, and so from 1910 on the census dropped the term white for Hawai'i, keeping Caucasian for persons ultimately of European derivation, Americans, British, Germans, Portuguese, Spanish, Puerto Ricans, etc. However, because the Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish had come to Hawai'i mainly as plantation laborers and were by economic status and religion different from the people originally from northern Europe, they were listed as distinct groups under Caucasian, leaving these others to be put into the category of "other" Caucasians, who were the core Haole population. Eventually, starting with the 1940 census, separate listing for the Portuguese, Spanish, and Puerto Ricans was dropped, leaving merely Caucasians.

However, in 1960, the one-year-old state was treated by the census like the other states. By "color" the population was divided into white and non-white. The term race "as used by the Bureau of the Census is drived from that which is commonly accepted by the general public. It does not, therefore, reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock, and several categories obviously refer to national origin." The non-white races were Negro, American Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Aleut, Eskimo, etc. In 1970 and 1980 the part-Hawaiian classification was dropped from the census, and all mixed bloods were allowed to identify themselves with whichever of their component ancestries they wished. Thus our whole mixed population, over a quarter of the total, disappeared into one or another of the so-called pure races.

At present an accurate figure on Haole population is therefore difficult to determine because different ways of classifying and counting people racially are competing. When persons are allowed to classify themselves, a large but unverifiable number of mixed persons choose "white," so that in 1970 the total number of whites was 301,000, 39.2 percent of the whole population. Never had the whites been so numerous nor so large a proportion of the total. No other groups came near them, the next highest being the Japanese at not quite 218,000. It was predicted with enthusiasm by some, with dismay by others, that by the end of the century the whites would be in the majority—the first ethnic group to achieve this since the Hawaiians lost their numerical majority soon after 1885.

Eventually, however, it had to be realized that, in the first place, between 30 percent and 40 percent of this white population is military, in the armed forces or among its dependents, and is, therefore, a temporary part of the white population, and, in the second place, that by self-classification, many persons who were only part white, nevertheless, were identified as white, possibly as many as 50,000 mixed persons, part-Hawaiian and of other mixture. (*Population Report*, #9, 1977, Table 7 and *Population Report*, #11, 1979, Table 2 and prefatory text.) If these mixed Caucasians are eliminated, the pure white population is less than 30 percent, and if the white members of the armed forces and their white dependents are excluded, the Caucasian population becomes just 21.4 percent of the total household population sampled by the Hawaii Health Surveillance Program survey of 1977. [*Op. cit.* #11, p. 1.]

We can thus only make judgments about the relative size of Hawai'i's different groups. Counting the military population but subtracting the mixed persons which the census had classified as white, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, and making a separate grouping of the mixtures, one could say that three groups are roughly equal, constituting a little more than a quarter each. These are the Caucasian or white, the Japanese, and the mixed population. The remaining small quarter belongs to the Filipinos, the Chinese, the pure Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Koreans, and the Blacks. Some of these smaller groups are at present growing by immigration from the home countries, Korea, geographical and ethnic China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), the Philippines, and Samoa. The mixed group is growing steadily by an increasing proportion of mixed births, now over 50 percent of all births in the proportion of two-thirds part-Hawaiian and one-third persons of other-than-Hawaiian mixture.

The military part of the Haole population, over 100,000, consists, as was mentioned, primarily of temporary residents, mainly on two- or three-year assignment, most living on military bases on Oahu, although many families find housing in civilian residential areas on this island. They are only partially integated with the rest of the population, even with the rest of the haole population.

On an average day in 1977, Hawai'i had close to 87,000 tourists, of whom the largest number, probably over 75,000, were white. The concentration of these more or less temporary whites on Oahu reinforces the impression people have had from recent U.S. censuses that the white part of the population is becoming dominant. This is not to deny the important social impact of both the military and the tourist element upon Hawai'i and, reciprocally, the influence of their stay in Hawai'i upon them, subjects which deserve intensive sociological research.

Haole, our term in this article, was the Hawaiian word for foreigner. After the opening of Hawai'i to the wider world by Captain Cook all outsiders who came to these shores were foreigners. The origin of the Hawaiin term is not clear, but probably it was descriptive of some trait or action which marked these strangers as different from native Hawaiians. Exactly what the Hawaiians were describing with the word has been lost. *Ha* refers to breath and *aole* is a negative. It is said that commoner Hawaiians, suddenly confronted by chiefs, prostrated themselves as they noisily expelled their breath—and of course

the strangers did not do this. Or it is said that, to the Hawaiians, the newcomers seemed to have expressionless (therefore, breathless) faces. Other terms also were current. For instance, Lucy Thurston, of the first company of missionaries, wrote that the first white women were referred to by the Hawaiians as "long-necks," whose faces were "far in" (perhaps under bonnets). In Hong Kong in the last century the Chinese called Britishers "Hung Mo," Red Heads, because that seemed the predominant color of their hair. The American Indian use of "pale face" for whites is well known. In the other direction, the foreigners variously referred to the Hawaiians as natives, Indians, pagans, and, later, *kanaka*, the Hawaiian term for human being. Today Hawaiian is the preferred term.

Eventually *haole* became the common term among Hawaiians, no matter what the differences among the various foreigners might be. So a *haole* church was a church for foreigners, the "foreign" church. Until the 1870s the dominant foreigners numerically were the whites derived from Europe and America. Occasionally, in the English language, they were actually referred to as white, a term which was certainly known and used in the last century. It is understandable that *haole* thus came to have connotations of white. Later in the last century the whites came to be powerful politically and as enterprisers in a developing economy. They were among the wealthiest persons in the community, adding another connotation to *haole*: influential, upper-class, wealthy. The various overlapping but not synonymous meanings, never "officially" clarified, are the reason questions arose as to whether working-class white immigrants, imported to work on the plantations, such as the Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish— should be regarded as Haole and, as was mentioned, in 1910, 1920, and 1930 three of these groups were counted separately, according to their nationalities, but grouped as Caucasians, while the Haoles were called the "other" Caucasians.

In the last century the term *haole* was more or less confined to speakers of Hawaiian. For speakers of English, the word foreigner was proper and adequate, just as in Japan foreigner applies to all non-Japanese. The use of white was also possible, but not as common as foreigner, or the name of the specific nationality. The use of such nationality terms continued for several decades after annexation in various educational, correctional, and other statistics of the Territory of Hawai'i.

The first white men known to stay in the Islands were two Englishmen, John Young and Isaac Davis, taken captive in 1790 by Hawaiians in reprisal for a massacre of a Hawaiian village by an American captain on whose ships the men were crewmen. They soon became useful to Kamehameha I and were urged to take *ali'i* women as wives. Their progeny became the first known part-Hawaiians. Queen Emma, consort of Kamehameha IV, was the granddaughter of John Young. James Boyd, also English, arrived about the same time and is said by his part-Hawaiian descendants to have built Kamehameha's first Western-type sailing vessel. One of the most colorful of the early white settlers was the Spaniard Don Francisco de Paula Marín, who first came to Hawai'i in 1793 or 1794 and died here in 1837. He became an interpreter for the king, had children by several Hawaiian wives, raised horses and cattle, maintained the first vineyard, and practiced other horticultural pursuits.

An adventurous and observant Scottish youth who had run away to sea as a teen-ager spent some months in Hawai'i in 1809-1810 making sails for Kamehameha. His published account calls attention to another haole element—deserting sailors from American and European ships, including some men escaped from England's penal colony in Sydney. He said their numbers constantly fluctuated but during his stay had reached a high of almost sixty on O'ahu. Most were disreputable, a corrupting influence; many left as suddenly as they had arrived. Ever since then there has been a continuous stream of white beachcombers, remittance men, escapists from civilization—down to the hippies of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The steadier ones, who had such special skills as carpentry and masonry or who were able to manage a little business, stayed and like Young, Davis, Boyd, and Marín married Hawaiian women and raised families. There were no white women until the first missionaries arrived in 1820 with their wives, seven in number.

This first missionary party of nineteen whites and three Hawaiian youths was followed by eleven other "companies," as well as by individuals sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the Congregational foreign mission board in Boston. The total came to 175, including some Hawaiians. Their competitors were Catholic missionaries, mainly from Europe, starting in 1827 but not officially allowed to do their work among Hawaiians until 1839. Mormon missionaries arrived in mid-century, and ten years later Anglicans came from England at the request of Kamehameha V and Queen Emma.

By 1830 there were 300 whites on O'ahu. Some started trading establishments; one, started by James Hunnewell in 1826, survives to this day as C. Brewer and Co., one of the so-called "Big Five."

Many of these pioneers originally had been seafarers—navigators, ship's mates, captains. Their ships were engaged in trade, so because they were also traders, they became the first resident merchants. Some became consular agents for their governments and helped "protect" the interests of countrymen in clashes with chiefs and commoners. In the 1840s Britishers and Germans joined the Americans in establishing businesses.

The possibility of growing crops on a commercial scale was explored by the Englishman John Wilkinson. In the mid-1820s he grew sugarcane and coffee trees in Mānoa, but his early death and other difficulties led to abandonment of this plantation. In 1835 three enterprising young Americans started the first surviving sugar plantation at Kōloa, Kaua'i, now part of McBryde Sugar Co. The Great Mahele of 1848 opened lands for agricultural development, particularly in sugar. Līhu'e Plantation, started in 1849-50 is now one of the largest. This venture brought together a number of Haole pioneers—Henry Peirce, Charles R. Bishop, William Lee, J.B.F. Marshall, all Americans who soon took the American missionary, W. H. Rice, as partner and manager. Upon Rice's death, his German son-in-law, Paul Isenberg, took over management. Peirce started his many-faceted working life on trading vessels. He had a short stint as a resident merchant when he bought out Hunnewell, and a few years later sold out to C. Brewer. Then he began Līhu'e plantation as he passed through Hawai'i on his way to Canton. Later, under Kalakaua's reign, he was U.S. minister and helped in negotiations which led to the reciprocity treaty. These were versatile, enterprising young men, able to see and eager to seize opportunity. Their enterprises brought together as partners missionary and non-missionary Americans and Europeans.

In 1853 when Līhu'e plantation was being founded, there were in Hawai'i 2,119 foreigners, of whom 291 had been born in the Islands. Some of these—364—were Chinese. There were also 983 "half castes," as they were called. The native population was 70,036.

The widely held picture of the Haole as a minority which nevertheless acquired wealth and power has, in the main, been true. The core of *kama'āina* Haoles was in control in 1930, a year which might be regarded

as the climax of this influence, when sugar was indeed king, its plantations and their communities tied together by Big Five corporations, themselves in turn linked by such formal organizations as the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) and the California and Hawaiian Sugar refinery (C&H) on San Francisco Bay, a cooperative of sugar-producing companies. There were interlocking directorates and stock holdings as well as informal ties of friendship, kinship, marriage. These relationships extended to transportation, financing, wholesale and retail merchandising, utilities, the major newspapers, cultural and scientific, social welfare and health activities, and, through well-organized elections and lobbying, to territorial and federal government. The power was concentrated and great for the five decades between the overthrow of Lili'uokalani and World War II.

The Haole had, of course, introduced Western civilization to Hawaiians who, under their chiefs, made firm commitment to it. Haoles were the agents who brought both the curses and the blessings of civilization. Some of the curses were inevitable but unplanned, such as the gamut of contagious diseases. Foreigners with good intentions, however, also made unwitting mistakes. The Puritanical predilection of missionaries took some of the zest out of life. Contending factions among foreigners reinforced factionalism among chiefs.

Yet their positive contributions deserve recognition. Haole missionaries not only succeeded very quickly in "reducing" the oral Hawaiian language into a highly usable written form, but also in teaching it, first to chiefs and then to commoners, in schools which they founded. These schools were the beginning of universal public education and made Hawai'i probably the first non-Western nation with universal literacy. Eventually English became the general medium of instruction, even while Hawaiians retained their independence, not because Haoles foisted English on the Hawaiians but because Hawaiians wanted it so.

Haoles who came in the nineteenth century with no firm intention to stay, nevertheless did stay to become permanent residents. The practice of "home leave," so common in European colonies, never became general practice in Hawai'i. Naturally, some Haoles left, never to return, including some missionaries, usually for reasons of health. The children of missionaries and other Haoles were sent away to school, but then returned. A pioneer missionary doctor, G. P. Judd, arrived with his wife in 1828 and spent the rest

of his life in Hawai'i, assuming increasingly important positions with the royal government. These responsibilities, he felt, called for resignation from the mission, and he took the oath of allegiance in 1854 as a subject of the king. He urged former colleagues to do likewise. At mid-century, the Boston board felt it was time for the Hawai'i mission to become independent, forcing the missionaries to find independent means of support and leading to their becoming enterprisers, and their children after them. The second generation participated in the overthrow of the monarchy and forced Hawai'i into annexation by the United States. In the 1950s, research indicates, more than half of the seventy-five missionary couples who came to Hawaii'i from 1820 to 1854 had descendants living in the islands. By 1978 Dr. and Mrs. Judd's descendants numbered 804. They were mainly identified with Hawai'i. Some were part-Hawaiian or mixed with other ethnic groups in Hawai'i.

These old-time dominant Haoles, missionary and non-missionary, are the *kama'āinas*. The theater was introduced and supported by them, a small opera house was built in the last century and maintained for a decade and a half into this century. (To be sure, the stricter missionary Haoles at first disapproved, as they did of cosmopolitan social life around the royal court, of ballroom dancing, liquor, and card-playing.)

Indeed, the Haoles in Hawai'i increasingly led a clearly cosmopolitan life—the life of a big city involving intellectuals, artists, scientists, professionals, club life, a life of conspicuous consumption —and the ali'i Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians joined in. Eventually, particularly after World War II, upwardly mobile members of other ethnic groups—those whose lives had been centered in local communities, even ghettos, where they followed their ethnic, religious, and kinship traditions—were able to join the cosmopolites, entering the professions, politics, business, and the arts.

The upper-class Haoles had their own kind of ghetto, though they were not always aware of it. On plantations there were Haole residential areas, sometimes called "haole camps," reserved for them, with markedly better housing. In Honolulu there were Haole districts, where non-Haoles did not live, except as servants. The non-Haoles were excluded, at first because they could not afford to live there and would not have felt at ease; later because they were not permitted to purchase property, a result of informal pressure by

neighbors, or of practices by large landed estates who leased residential plots. Real estate agencies helped maintain such restrictions, simply not showing property available for sale to non-Haoles. Certain upper-class clubs were closed to non-Haoles, although upper-class Hawaiians were members. Admission of Orientals to the Pacific Club in 1968 was the beginning of the end of these restrictions. At one time Punahou School had an informal 10 percent quota for Oriental students, a practice begun in the 1890s when a number of Chinese boys applied and the fear arose that linguistic and academic standards would be lowered if they were admitted and were to be followed by many more. The quota fell by the wayside in the 1950s. The school still has a predominance of Haoles because children of alumni receive admission priority. Once such changes occur, it is soon forgotten that such restrictions ever existed, and that, while they existed, they were accepted without much question, even by those excluded, largely because socio-economic differences were involved, and were as important as ethnic differences.

The boys' half of Mid-Pacific Institute was founded to accommodate the kind of Chinese boy being turned away at Punahou. This school, then called Mills, was later combined with a still older school, Kawaiahao, originally for Hawaiian girls. The combined school eventually had a predominantly Oriental student body and hardly any Caucasian students, only 1.5 percent in the mid-1950s. In the school year 1975-1976, however, the proportion of Caucasians reached 16.1 percent. This increase is perhaps as significant as the increase in non-Haoles at Punahou, although Mid-Pacific is a very much smaller school.

In this article the concern has been primarily with the Haoles who, by origin are from the U.S. and northern Europe, a relatively small part of the population whose influence has been way out of proportion to their numbers.

But we cannot leave out of consideration the wider Caucasian population. These consist of ethnic groups brought in to work on the sugar plantations: Portuguese, Norwegians, Germans, Puerto Ricans, Spanish, Russians, the first three in the late 1870s and 1880s, the latter three after annexation. Most of these groups were small in number and soon merged with the wider Caucasian group or left Hawai'i to live on the U.S. West Coast. Only the Portuguese and the Puerto Ricans, while being counted as Caucasians, maintain

a sort of separate ethnic identity and are covered by separate articles in this issue. A short article on the Germans, originally written for the language section of the Encyclopedia, is also included, as the editor-in-chief of the Encyclopedia felt it belonged in this ethnic section. It represents one of the smaller groups who played a role in Hawai'i. In the bibliographical notes are included some references for those interested in learning more about these and other smaller groups.

Challenges to the Haole power structure came in the 1930s and 1940s when, ironically, Mainland Haole labor leaders organized the waterfront, sugar, and pineapple workers into militant interracial unionism. After the war the Oriental population, achieving mobility as American citizens, entered the political picture. At the same time the economic strength of local non-Haoles has increased and economic challenges from outside Hawai'i have undermined the Haole hegemony. Ethnic militancy, particularly among Hawaiians, has also brought challenges to reckon with.

The feeling about Haoles of both whites and non-whites continues to be quite ambivalent. Recently a newspaper reporter asked some prominent non-Haoles whether Haoles could be "local." Some answered categorically in the negative. The ambiguity about whether the Portuguese are Haoles, while declining, is still noticeable.

It is still largely a fact that whites from the Mainland are not easily integrated. Those in the military services and their dependents often live a life apart on bases which are more "suburbs of Washington, D.C." than of Honolulu. Or, if connected, say, with a company, or with the University, or with a new beachside condominium, their main social associations may be with other Haoles in those organizations and neighborhoods. If they join a predominantly Haole church, again they are thrown with Haoles. If they are artists, musicians, actors, the primary contacts also have been with Haoles. They have a disadvantage in getting a realistic appreciation of the whole community. Even militant or liberal whites who come to Hawai'i act in ways which prevent the entrée into local circles which they so much crave. With the best of intentions, they nevertheless behave like "obnoxious" Haoles. They act and talk as though, out of the wisdom of their Mainland experience, they had the answers for Island problems, for the discrimination which non-Haoles have experienced. They talk too fast, too glibly. Haole students strike local non-

Haole students as wasteful of precious class time with their "empty" talk. Haoles may even appear unclean, smelly. One belief about Haoles, shared by many local people, is that they don't bathe as often as they should, or at least not before they go to bed. For local people, including local Haoles, a bath at the end of the working day is sacrosanct.

Thus Mainland Haoles, with the best of intentions, have difficulty making the grade. They are not easily accepted by local people, even by local Haoles. Haole and non-Haole local people do, however, go out of their way to entertain tourists, Mainland acquaintances, for their lives will not be complicated by abiding social commitments, but it is different when Mainland Haoles come here to live. Local people put off entertaining them. So Mainlanders become isolated, or meet one another and establish their own circles of friends, losing significant personal contact with local people, whether white or non-white. They then may become disillusioned about and highly critical of life in Hawai'i and return to the Mainland.

Local Haoles—second, third, fourth, fifth generation Haoles—still form a sort of local establishment which is recognized by the community, accepted to a certain extent in most circles—also at times resented. In general terms this persistence of a Haole establishment—and community in some aspects—of Hawai'i life could be put in these terms: Whenever a bank, trust company, major corporation, church, or other organization or neighborhood has been Haole over several generations, the breakdown of Haole exclusiveness is, even by those on the inside, difficult to accomplish. It takes time. That breakdown thrives on little exceptions and precedents which become cumulatively important. Local people feel a combination of diffidence, even antagonism, towards Haoles, a fear of not being accepted by them, of not feeling at home with them, of not being sure what kind of behavior is expected. There is also a reluctance on the part of Haoles who "belong" to break up old associations which have come to be expected, accepted, and workable for generations. Another factor which seems to maintain Haole exclusiveness and to retard participation of non-Haoles is the greater leisure for and tradition about "causes" which Haoles have. By contrast, many non-Haoles are engrossed in the struggle to achieve and to maintain a middle-class way of life with its amenities, to provide the best education for their children. Such preoccupation in a community where the cost of living is so high, reinforced by an absence of tradition, has kept them from participation in community and cultural affairs, from dedication to "causes."

The overall Haole population is, of all ethnic groups, least a single entity. Except for the relatively few who are permanently identified with Hawai'i, they are not unified. Their very diversity makes for movement and change.

One day the Islands' ethnic paradoxes will be resolved by simply doing away with ethnic or racial distinctions. By that time, such distinctions will have become as meaningless as the terms Swedish, Polish, German, Italian are becoming in the Middle West and the West. That day is closer than many people realize, but it is not yet fully upon us.

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THE IMMIGRATION OF SOUTH-SEA ISLANDERS

Andrew W. Lind

One of the curious attempts at controlled immigration was the importation of about 2,500 so-called "South Sea Islanders" in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Drawn from widely scattered points in the Pacific, speaking numerous languages, and nurtured in as many diverse cultural conditions, they cannot be conceived of as a distinct ethnic group. But although few in number—and now completely vanished as a group—their experience nevertheless illustrates significant aspects of the shifting social scene in Hawai'i not readily observable among other groups.

Most immigrant labor for Hawai'i plantations was recruited in peasant communities of high population density, especially in Asia, where workers exceeded the opportunities for a livelihood. The South Sea Islanders, on the other hand, were found in widely scattered islands where population had been severely restricted by limited resources. The assumed readiness of Islanders to escape from their narrowly confined habitat and the taboos of native chiefs, it was assumed, would make them willing recruits for the Hawaiian adventure.

Another, but equally mistaken hope among the missionary and governmental promoters of this venture was the expectation that such immigrants would find Hawai'i a congenial place to live and thus help revitalize the seriously depleted Hawaiian race. As early as 1855, Kamehameha IV had proposed "bringing in Polynesian immigrants to . . . reinvigorate the native Hawaiian stock." And in 1859 an American schooner brought ten islanders, probably from Rarotonga, described as "young, healthy, and in personal appearance resembling the Hawaiians" to work under contract for five years on the plantation at Kōloa, Kaua'i.[1] In the mid-1860s arrangements were made to introduce fifty adult laborers from the Caroline Islands on the assumption that "the people were anxious to leave home on account of the occasional suffering for want of the necessaries of life and . . . to escape from the onerous taboo laws," but it was possible to obtain only half the number.

Except for another small group of Marquesans brought in 1865—eight under auspices of the Board of Immigration and seven by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions—no serious effort was made to attract additional Islanders until after signing of the reciprocity treaty with the U.S. and the consequent increased demand for plantation labor.

In the meantime, interest had continued in official channels in bringing people who were "cognate" to the Hawaiians and who would amalgamate with them. According to Kuykendall,[2] however, the notion of race in those days was so vague that "nearly all Pacific islanders, including Malaysians and even Japanese, were thought of as cognate to the Hawaiians."

Quite apart from the difficulty of persuading Islanders under no special compulsion of imminent starvation or political harassment to emigrate, both missionary and government sponsors wished to avoid undue pressure in recruiting and the odium of a traffic known as "black-birding" in which Pacific Islanders were literally kidnapped and forced into labor on plantations or mines, elsewhere in and around the Pacific.

Beginning in 1878 and continuing sporadically through 1884, 1,707 South Sea Islanders, according to best estimates, were introduced as contract laborers by the government, a number which, combined with those brought by private sponsors, makes the 2,500 estimated total. Reports by ship captains indicate they had to travel vast distances through all three major ethnic areas of the Pacific and visit countless islands to obtain even that limited number over a period of seven years. Natives were recruited from Rotumah in the Marquesas, from Manihiki in the Cook Islands, from the Gilberts and Carolines of Micronesia, and from the New Hebrides and Solomons of Melanesia, among others.

Having been drawn from such diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, it is no surprise that the immigrants did not, within the short period of their labor contracts, develop any sense of ethnic unity, though this was what their employers—and people in Hawai'i generally, expected of them.

Other immigrant labor groups brought to Hawai'i were also from different dialectal regions, but there were usually enough individuals of a common heritage to provide a congenial social setting in the new

environment during the early adjustment period. Moreover, they usually remained long enough to have accepted the common identity as Chinese, Portuguese, Filipino—however the community had labelled them. But this was not possible among the South Sea Islanders, who were too few in numbers and left Hawai'i too promptly for their home communities after finishing their contracts to have acquired such a sense of a common identity among themselves.

Like most of the other immigrant labor groups, the Pacific Islanders were predominantly adult males (77 percent), with women and children about evenly divided among the remainder. The disproportion of males among the Islanders, however, was much less extreme than among the immigrants from all the countries of Asia, although considerably higher than those from the European countries.

Probably the one common trait which most markedly affected the experience of the Islanders in Hawai'i was a sense of having been isolated from all that was familiar and precious to them. Although that feeling occurs to some degree among all immigrants, no other group in Hawai'i seems to have suffered so acutely, nor to have availed themselves to the same extent of transportation back to the homeland immediately after their contract service expired. Thus, of the nearly 1,300 Pacific Islanders brought by the Bureau of Immigration between 1878 and 1881, well over half (62.7 percent) were returned to their home island within a year of completing their contract with a plantation in Hawai'i.

In 1900, sixteen years after the last official immigration, there were 415 Islanders of both sexes and various ages listed by the U.S. census, but it was obvious that, even as a statistical group, they had been rapidly disappearing. By 1910 they were not listed at all. The decline in numbers employed on plantations was equally dramatic, from a peak of 902 in 1882 to 474 just four years later. By 1902 only twenty-six Islanders were so employed.

Statements by planters and sponsors were generally favorable to Islander immigration at the outset, but that sentiment gradually shifted to reluctant recognition of failure. Reports from planters regarding Micronesians, introduced in 1865, mentioned their "giving very great satisfaction" and being of "very gentle disposition," so that further importantion was desired. Somewhat more than 200 Rotumans brought in 1878 were described by government

officials as having "proved good plantation hands, with the cultural drawback of their unacquaintance with our language, but they are generally quiet and tractable." In 1870, however, one planter reported that, of thirteen Bukabukans assigned him, three had died, eight were sick, and that he would "be glad to pay a reasonable amount to be relieved from the responsibility of supporting a lot of people that are not only of no use . . . but a considerable expense for food and medicine."

Dissatisfaction was openly expressed by the immigrants very soon after their arrival on the plantations, with complaints centered chiefly on the physical isolation and separation from their countrymen, the reduction of wages from a promised seven dollars to five dollars a month, inadequate medical attention, and unacceptable food consisting of "indifferent salt salmon and poi." These and other difficulties, they contended, resulted in "extreme disappointment and discontent" and high mortality. Criticism among other immigrant groups was not uncommon, but the discontent of the Islanders was obviously more widespread and serious, judging by the urgency of their desire to return home.

Despite conflicting evidence, both planters and government officials, supported by missionaries, continued during the 1880s to express confidence in immigration from the South Pacific. An endorsement appeared in the missionary journal, *The Friend*, in May 1880.

> . . . it is emphatically stated that the South Sea Islanders are preferred to any other immigrants. We look upon this work of procuring immigrants from a cognate race with the Hawaiians as one of paramount importance and as intimately connected with the question of the recuperation of the race and the perpetuity of our national independence.

Less than two years later a meeting called by the Interior Department received high commendation of the Islanders as laborers from some of the merchants and planters, while others vigorously opposed the expenditure of further funds on such immigration on grounds that "they don't increase our population, they don't breed, and they don't remain."

A final lament on the whole experiment appeared in the 1886 report of the Bureau of Immigration:

> The South Sea Islanders were given a long and fair trial, and great hopes were entertained of their being induced to stay here and become a part of the population of these Islands. So far as labor is concerned, the natives of certain groups and islands were considered highly desirable, while others were quite unfit for hard work and unable to support the change of climate.
>
> Of all that were brought here at great expense, but few remain in the country. And of these islanders it may be said that, as a general rule, they have been a failure.
>
> Those that showed themselves truly valuable on plantations were of tribes so small that they alone could do little towards supplying the labor market of this Kingdom.

NOTES

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THE CHINESE

Tin-Yuke Char and Wai Jane Char

The Chinese were among the earliest people to migrate to the Islands, following European and American traders and adventurers, arriving even before the missionaries of 1820. At one time in the 1880s Chinese were almost a quarter of the total population. Although forming only about 6 percent of the total population in recent decades, they have taken significant roles in agriculture, economics, politics, and education and participated readily in the social life of the community. Chinese men and women are enthusiastic supporters of the arts, music, and social welfare. Among Island groups, the Chinese have one of the highest median incomes.

Although there are social organizations largely Chinese in membership, there is no cohesive Chinese community. Chinatown, for example, has never since its earliest beginning been entirely occupied by Chinese. Today less than 20 percent of the residents of the 15 blocks of central Chinatown are Chinese. Chinese live, work, and play as do others in Hawai'i. Assimilation has been rapid.

Pioneers and Adventurers, 1788-1852

Soon after the Islands were made known to the world in 1778, European and American vessels on the China trade began to stop for provisions, to winter over, and to trade. Native Hawaiians were taken on some vessels as crew. From the China side, Chinese were recruited as carpenters, cooks, and crew. An early contact between Hawaiians and China occurred in 1787 when Chief Kaiana of Kaua'i left for Canton with Captain John Meares on the ship *Nootka*. Within a year, he and several other Hawaiians returned to the Islands. Among the crew on the return voyage were fifty or so Chinese workmen being taken to Nootka Sound to help build a 40-ton schooner. Later, when that new ship stopped in Hawai'i on its maiden voyage to China, Kamehameha I asked that a carpenter remain to help build a similar ship for him, and it is surmised that Chinese carpenters remained in Hawai'i in 1788. The next year Chinese crewmen on Captain Metcalfe's *Eleanora* did stay in the Islands, and the Chinese community used that 1789 date to celebrate, in 1939, the 150th anniversary of the first Chinese arrival.

When it was learned that Island sandalwood could be sold in China, American traders came from the Atlantic coast with British printed cottons, broadcloth, and hardware to barter for sandalwood. While wood was being collected by agents, the ships went to the Northwest for furs to add to their cargo of sandalwood. The sandalwood trade lasted from 1792 to about 1830, when forests were depleted, but Chinese still call Hawai'i the "Sandalwood Mountains" (*Tan Heung Shan*).

On voyages from China when there was insufficient cargo the ships were sometimes ballasted with hitching posts, millstones, and paving slabs of white Chinese granite. The paving stones may still be seen in some downtown Honolulu sidewalks.

Most early Chinese adventurers were familiar with crude sugar production and when they saw sugarcane growing wild they naturally went about milling it, becoming pioneers in the sugar industry and serving also on embryonic plantations. Native Hawaiians and Anglo-Americans were friendly toward them, and they married Hawaiian women, founding families with many well-respected descendants. By the 1850s, sugar as the chief export crop dominated the economy and planters began to look to outside sources for cheap agricultural labor, bringing their first contract laborers from China in 1852.

Contract Laborers and Free Immigrants, 1852-1898

The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in August 1851 arranged with Captain John Cass to bring the first group of Chinese contract laborers and he recruited 180 men and 20 boys from Amoy, a southern Fukien port. On the long trip of fifty-five days on the British bark *Thetis* five died, so that only 195 arrived 3 January 1852. The contract was for five years at $3 per month in addition to passage money, food, clothing, and lodging. A second trip in 1852 by Cass brought 98 contract laborers, again from Amoy. Captain Cass also brought such new plants as kumquats, lychee, and pomelo.

Until this time there had been fewer than 100 Chinese among the foreign population of 1,962 in 1850. Chinese were mostly merchants, sugar masters, and shop-keepers. Arrival of the contract laborers was hailed with delight. They were looked upon as industrious, economical, and careful. *The Polynesian* published an *aloha* editorial January 1852 to welcome them, saying this new experiment in labor importation was of considerable importance to the Islands.

In December 1864 Kamehameha V recommended to the Legislature that government, not the private planters' group, assume responsibility for procuring foreign labor. The new Bureau of Immigration, established March 1865, appointed Dr. William Hillebrand Royal Commissioner of Immigration and sent him to investigate sources of labor in Asia. He found the Chinese the cheapest and most eligible for they worked hard and were more easily obtained. Hong Kong was chosen as the emigration port from which to recruit men from the Pearl River delta area of Hong Kong, Canton, and Macao, the area best known to China traders. The most convenient and major source was in nearby Heungshan district which, since 1925, has been called Chungshan to honor its native son, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a sometime Island resident whose honorific name is "Chungshan."

With the boom in the sugar economy brought on by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 which allowed sugar to be exported into the U.S. duty free, the need for Chinese labor was even greater. By 1884 a total of 17,937 Chinese made up 22.3 percent of the total population of 80,579. In 1886, of the total 14,539 sugar plantation employees, 5,626 or almost 40 percent were Chinese laborers, and there was agitation to restrict their immigration and look to other sources.

The Chinese labored in the sugar, pineapple, and coffee industries. Rice was another crop that owed much to their efforts, as owners of plantations and as employees. At its height of production in 1890, as many as 4,500 metric tons of rice were exported. Severe competition from rice grown in California, Texas, and Louisiana later led to decline of the Island industry.

Opposition to Chinese immigration increased. Restrictive legislation and the planters' search for other labor led to greater immigration by other groups. After Annexation in 1898, U.S. exclusion laws closed the doors to further Chinese immigration except for merchants, diplomats, clergymen, teachers, students,

and immediate family of persons already here. Chinese on sugar plantations dropped to fewer than 4,000 in 1902, fewer than 1,500 by 1922, and to 706 in 1932. By 1959, fewer than 300 were on sugar plantations.

Isolated in plantation camps, early Chinese laborers followed their own life styles and the traditional practices of China. To meet the need for a gathering place, they established *wui-goon* (meeting halls), a form of fraternal lodge of the Hoong Moon type, sometimes called "Triads" or "Chinese Masons." As members were men in their prime, the idea of a sworn brotherhood with secret rituals gave significance to Kwan Dai as their patron saint, for he had been known for his loyalty to fraternity, chivalry, patriotism, and traditional morality. These buildings had shrines on the second floor or even third floor. To provide for the needs and wishes of women, the clubhouse or lodge sometimes had shrine rooms in the back for the worship of Kuan Yin, goddess of mercy, and other special deities. The chief concerns of the lodges were care for the elderly and sick, burial for the dead, and settling of disputes. Clubhouses on isolated plantation camps were for socializing and recreation.

At the same time as the coming of more and more contract laborers, an even larger number of Chinese came as free immigrants, on their own financially or assisted by family or fellow clansmen in China or Hawai'i. They were free to seek employment of their own choice, though many chose, nonetheless, to find their first jobs on plantations. In 1886 only 803 Chinese were classified as "contract" while 4,736 were listed as "free labor" on sugar plantations.

Among free immigrants more and more women and children came to join husbands and fathers. In 1884 only 5 percent of Chinese men had Chinese wives in Hawai'i. By 1900 the number increased to 6.9 percent and by 1920 rose to over 23 percent. Some women joined their men in the fields but these were relatively few. Chinese women took in sewing at home, raised vegetables and poultry, or became domestics. Free immigrants became intermingled with contract laborers who had left the plantations. Among both groups were those who returned to China, while others remained to find desirable occupations. Their savings bore fruit in small enterprises like peddling, cobbling, or in businesses like bakeries or coffee shops requiring little capital.

The relatively heavier concentration of Chinese in Honolulu generated two "umbrella organizations" to assume wider functions for their benefit: (1) The United Chinese Society or Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Society (Chung-wa wui-goon) and (2) Merchants' Association, which later became the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Chung-wa sheong-wui). Other social organizations were formed according to regional or geographic affiliations of district, subdistrict, or village ties; surname or kinship organizations; trade guilds or occupational societies; societies for cultivation of literature, music, physical culture; China-oriented political parties; miscellaneous types including burial and cemetery associations, shrines and temples, language schools, and the Chinese press. Traditional Chinese societies in Hawai'i used the terms *hui-kuan, kung-si* or *tong* as parts of their names, but they did not engage in the illicit activities which erupted elsewhere in "tong wars" used to settle disputes that could not be taken to court.

Annexation to Statehood, 1898-1976

No Longer Sojourners: Chinese first came to Hawai'i as sojourners (*wah kiu*), to stay long enough to accumulate savings and return to the mother country. Favorable conditions, however, encouraged permanent settlement. Hawai'i, a frontier, was an open society which, after U.S. annexation, promised individual freedom, better social conditions, and greater economic opportunity. This social climate encouraged assimilation and Island-born Chinese soon were recognized as good examples of acculturation. They had the earliest opportunity among non-Caucasian immigrants to establish themselves and to earn fuller participation in a new, common culture.

The Role of Women: The women who left China for Hawai'i followed the tradition of "Three Duties of a Woman" (*sam-ch'ung*): obedience to father, to husband, and to son. And they observed "Four Virtues of a Woman" (*see-tuck*): chastity, proper speech, work, and demeanor. In the liberal social climate in Hawai'i, the status of women changed dramatically. National trends for equal protection and treatment of women prevail. More and more women find employment when they can leave their children in safe hands. It is now common for both parents to be employed, even to the extent of both being professionals, both with equally demanding responsibilities. There is increased family income with concomitant economic and social change for the family. Instead of being confined to the family or her own cultural group, the modern, educated Chinese woman has more social contacts with people of similar education and refinement. She finds satisfaction and growth in being a professional person, a political figure, or a participant in community organizations. She becomes concerned, with other Americans, about the serious social problems of a rapidly changing American society—child delinquency, divorce, drugs, dependence on welfare, etc.

Changes in Social Custom: Early Chinese arrivals maintained social institutions brought from rural villages or towns in south China. The strongest, an all-pervading one, was the family and kinship system based upon parental control. Some features, such as arranged marriages, were later discarded or modified to fit new social patterns. Some practices continued, although anachronistic and long-discarded in modern China. Some old marriage customs, such as trousseaux from the bride or "show of wealth" ceremonial packets of money (*li-see*) from the groom, and expensive nine-course dinner receptions are still maintained by some of the younger generation, probably because of peer pressures upon their parents from friends and relatives. The cost of expensive weddings is usually shared by parental negotiation.

Funeral customs have also changed. There is no overnight wake. There is increased use of non-sectarian, non-racial memorial parks with perpetual care and other conveniences. In rural areas of O'ahu and on Neighbor Islands are many abandoned Chinese cemeteries where weathered gravestones bear inscriptions of identity and home districts of the deceased. Ch'ing-ming (clean, bright) Festival, when "worshipping at ancestral graves" (*bai-san*) ceremonies are observed, occurs in April, now much modified and more like the American Memorial Day.

As to religious faiths and practices, the traditional religion of the early Chinese combined the beliefs of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism with some worship of the supernatural. Chinese immigrants made adjustment also to a society based on Christian beliefs. The 1840 constitution officially declared Hawai'i a Christian nation, but there was tolerance enough to allow Chinese temples and shrines. Some Chinese immigrants were already Christians, many more were converted after Chinese churches were established. There is no Confucian temple in Hawai'i, but a Confucian Society supports Mun Lun Chinese Language

School. Few of the younger generation use temples and shrines.

Two older Chinese Christian churches still offer bilingual services. Neighbor Island churches established by Chinese have mostly been closed or consolidated with other ethnic churches because of the population movement to Honolulu. The trend continues for neighborhood Christian churches to welcome all ethnic groups as one congregation.

Family Changes: Chinese tradition long favored four generations under one roof (*see-doi tung-tong*). Today it is rare for two generations to share a home. There is increasing use of retirement homes for elders, living apart from their children.

Hawai'i follows a national trend of interest in ethnic studies, searching for answers to "Who am I?" or "What is my ancestral heritage?" This may often involve greater family awareness. Chinese genealogy records (*gar-pu*) are based on male lineage, and immigrant fathers in Hawai'i usually reported only the birth of sons for family registers kept in ancestral halls in China. Today there is a trend to keep genealogical records in the Western style of family histories and to include both male and female lineage. To fulfill some of these needs, the Hawai'i Chinese History Center was organized in 1970 as a non-profit institution doing historical research—recording oral history, publication, conservation of worthwhile buildings, records, artifacts, photographs, and general dissemination of materials on Hawai'i Chinese.

Changes in Education and Schools: Chinese respect for education is well known. It was the means to higher economic, political, and social status. The people of China once exalted the scholar. While most early immigrants did not have formal education, they were offered opportunity through missionary efforts and many also became self-taught in Chinese and English. They gave their children the best possible educational advantages in the new land. In 1920, when school attendance was compulsory for children up to fourteen years of age and optional thereafter, 69 percent of Chinese children sixteen to seventeen years of age were in school as contrasted with 36.8 percent for all others of the same age.

Chinese language schools were established early, about 1910, for the study of the language and culture. They survive, patronized mostly by children of newest

immigration and less by the Island-born. At one time the older generation looked to China for a few years of training in Chinese language, history, and culture for their offspring.

Changes in Immigration and Naturalization: Pro-Chinese sympathy in World War II led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign, on 17 December 1943, a bill repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, thereby correcting what he once called "an historical mistake." In 1965 new immigration laws abolished the old quota system and created a more liberal one for immigrants from Far East countries. New Chinese immigrants, mainly coming through Taiwan and Hong Kong, are now eligible for naturalization and citizenship, as are long-time alien residents who had been ineligible after annexation. Prior to annexation, Chinese could become naturalized Hawaiian citizens and, at one time, were encouraged to do so before marriage with Hawaiian women.

Changes in Social Organization: In monarchy days the United Chinese Society petitioned for franchise, i.e., voting rights, for the same privileges and rights accorded other residents. The society sponsored the Wai Wa Chinese Hospital, 1897-1907, which later became Palolo Chinese Home for old and infirm men. In recent years facilities have been added for women residents. State and federal programs have modified some of the welfare functions once assumed by Chinese societies. Leadership is now in the hands of the Island-born or bilingual persons. The United Chinese Society sponsors the annual Chinese Father and Chinese Mother-of-the-Year banquet and awards, has added English language classes for new immigrants, and offers help in the annual alien registration. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce, losing membership as old Chinatown stores closed, is now led by younger business and professional men. It helps sponsor an annual Narcissus Festival—and a "Narcissus Queen" contest—started in 1949 to bolster Chinatown business and Chinese culture, the narcissus being a symbol of the New Year. With urban renewal, other social organizations in old Chinatown or the area surrounding it have moved or are dissolving for lack of support. Some societies have added women's auxiliaries and youth divisions to attract more participation.

From China Politics to American Politics: Though far from the jurisdiction of Imperial China, Island Chinese supported efforts to overthrow the alien Manchu rulers and restore the Ming dynasty (*fan-Ch'ing*

fuk-Ming) by participation in fund drives to support such revolutionaries as Dr. Sun Yat-sen—who made several trips to Hawai'i, his "typhoon shelter," to escape arrest and to raise funds and support. Those emigrating to Hawai'i had little or no national consciousness when they left China but in the Islands they felt a lack of support from their weakened mother country. Bemoaning her disastrous state, they rallied to Dr. Sun, contributing funds and some manpower. Dr. Sun was a compatriot from their ancestral district of Chung-shan, and, furthermore, he had spent some time in Hawai'i while attending Iolani School in Honolulu. Others were spurred to nationalism by such political thinkers as K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, both Cantonese, who had also sought political asylum in Hawai'i. They advocated retaining a monarchy at Peking but with sufficient corrective measures to right the wrongs of the Ch'ing government. The issues were heatedly discussed in the Chinese press and at mass meetings. Such issues became moot with time and disappointment with the Chinese Republic's inadequacies. In recent years the Hawai'i Chinese community has followed a dispassionate policy of economic and cultural contacts with Taiwan, while having some exchange with the People's Republic of China, in line with the 1972 U.S. normalization of relations.

Chinese, born and educated in Hawai'i, a part of America, have been active in local politics. The first Chinese elected to public office were K. C. Ahana and his brother, K. M. Ahana, elected in 1919 as treasurer and auditor, respectively, of Kaua'i County. The Hawai'i Chinese Civic Association was organized in 1925 under the leadership of college graduates returned from the American mainland where they had faced discrimination despite their American citizenship. At home they campaigned for Chinese candidates in local elections. In 1926 Dr. Dai Yen Chang became the first Chinese elected to the Honolulu Board of Supervisors. In 1927, Yew Char became the first Chinese elected to the Territorial House of Representatives and in 1929 Apau Paul Low was elected a Maui senator in the Legislature. A survey of the 1976 Legislature shows a good representation of Chinese (by their names, not by physical features) elected in a multi-ethnic population of which only 6.8 percent are Chinese. There were twelve Chinese legislators or 16 percent of the total. Senator Hiram L. Fong, of course, was in the United States Senate from statehood in 1959 to his retirement in 1976.

Economic Upward Mobility: Plantation life had its shortcomings for all ethnic groups. As unskilled laborers they performed arduous work and lived in isolated camps. At the end of their contracts they found they could make their fortunes faster by leaving the plantations for other occupations. As the first labor group recruited, and thus the first out of the fields, Chinese found better jobs. Their children, with better education, continued the way upward. Fortunately, because of rapid expansion of the economy, there was increasing demand for skilled and professional services.

The Future: Today's Chinese are no longer distinguishable, in thought and action, from other Americans in Hawai'i. They do not feel any need to stay grouped together nor even to remain in Hawai'i for their livelihood. Already at least a fourth of Hawai'i Chinese who receive their college or technical training on the Mainland remain there in promising positions. Some have a more international outlook, serving around the world in different capacities.

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THE JAPANESE

George K. Yamamoto

Long conspicuous by their relatively large numbers, the Japanese represent, along with Chinese and Koreans, the peoples of East Asian culture origin in Hawai'i. Immigrants came from all the major islands of Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although the great majority were from western Honshu, northern Kyushu, and from Okinawa. The 217,669 Japanese enumerated in the 1970 United States census constitute 28 percent of the Hawai'i population, second only to the 39 percent share of the Caucasians of various European stock origins. While still being augmented by small annual numbers from Japan, today more than 90 percent of those of Japanese lineage in Hawai'i are American citizens. Those counted as Japanese continue to increase in actual numbers, mainly through an excess of births over deaths, but the peak of the Japanese proportion of population was reached 60 to 70 years ago when more than four out of every ten residents were Japanese.

For the Japanese as for the Chinese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and several other numerically smaller nationality groups, the original and major reason for their presence was work for plantation agriculture enterprises that expanded rapidly in the latter part of the nineteenth century right through the first third of the twentieth. With time, and with new generations replacing the aging and decreasing immigrant laborers, the role of the Japanese, not unlike several other plantation immigrant descendant groups but in larger numbers, expanded and shifted from that of being mainly providers of manual labor to significant representation in decision-making positions in economics and politics. Considered as a group, those of Japanese ancestry in positions of authority and power appear to some to constitute a threat to some ideal distribution of ethnic populations in the social structure. Viewed as an ethnic entity in competition with other such for a limited number of preferred niches, the Japanese may be expected to make further gains if Hawai'i continues to expand toward a greater preponderance of technical and professional jobholders, but without necessarily constraining opportunity for other groups.

This movement upward, however, will probably be accompanied by gradual decline in the high-visibility position of Japanese in politics and in the middle and upper levels of business, the professions, and government if other trends continue—the lower-than-average rate of increase in their numbers and the upward mobility of members of groups increasing more rapidly.

The first Japanese to reach the Islands were a few unsponsored, unintentional migrants—shipwrecked fishermen. The first sponsored immigrants were *Gannen Mono*, "first-year people," responding in 1868 to offers by plantation entrepreneurs and the Hawaiian government under contract conditions permitted by the Masters and Servants Act of 1850. These 148 First-Year People—1868 was the first year of the Meiji era (and the last year of the *samurai*-ruled feudal regime in Japan)—who came to Hawai'i on a 33-day voyage constituted a false start of sustained Japanese migration. Because of disagreements between Japanese and Hawai'i government agents over work conditions—arising from complaints by both laborers and plantation employers—no more Japanese came until 1885. Among plantation-sponsored immigrants, these Japanese were the third group of foreigners, following the Chinese and South Sea islanders, who joined the insufficient labor power supplied by Hawaiian workers. In the meantime, after 1868 and before 1885, workers from Portugal, Germany, and Norway were recruited, along with a continuing flow of Chinese. A number of economic and political developments in Hawai'i and Japan renewed immigration, continuing with such vigor that, by 1907, the year of the U.S.-Japan gentlemen's agreement curtailing the flow, over 180,000 had arrived. By 1910, resident Japanese, still mostly associated with plantations despite movement to small farms and to jobs in towns and cities, made up over 40 percent of the people, a source of some concern to many observers.

The overwhelming majority of Japanese immigrants up to 1908 were young adult males from rural areas, used to the hard work of farm life. This predominantly single, male population was augmented after the gentlemen's agreement by the stream of arrivals, ultimately nearly 15,000, of picture brides until immigration from Asia was stopped altogether by Congress in 1924. A family-based Japanese community had become a solidly entrenched part of Life in Hawai'i.

Negotiations for contract immigrants by planters through the Bureau of Immigration of the Hawaiian

government had focused on relatively few regions of Japan, and subsequent immigration continued early regional patterns. The result was that, of the 40-odd *ken* (prefectures, comparable to states), Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, and Fukuoka provided more than two-thirds of the immigrants. A very important fifth regional source was Okinawa, whose plantation-bound workers did not begin coming until the early years after annexation, during the free immigration period. To this day, when the overwhelming proportion of Japanese are Island-born Americans and newcomers from Japan are used to life in modern Tokyo or other urban areas, any local Japanese dialect or twist of traditional custom is likely to have its origins in one or another of these prefectures.

Not all immigrants, of course, either came as permanent settlers or, having come, decided to remain. A good many returned to home villages after fulfilling their initial or second three-year contract. Others, in the post-annexation, free-immigration period, still with a sojourner orientation, pulled up stakes to return to Japan after they had accumulated sufficient savings to buy farm plots or more adequately to carry their share of working family farms. Still others, lured by the reputed economic attractions of California, left Island plantations by the thousands in the first decade of this century. Altogether, more than half of these immigrants sooner or later left Hawai'i. But many had not piled up even the modest capital they had hoped for, within a reasonable length of time, with which to return to their villages. These finally cast their lot as permanent settlers with their Hawai'i-born children and, in time, with their children's children. To those remaining laborers were added smaller numbers of the more educated—doctors and dentists, Buddhist priests and Christian ministers, language school teachers, newspapermen, and businessmen, all of whom provided essential services to their immigrant compatriots.

By the middle 1920s, the Hawai'i-born, American-citizen component of the Japanese group outnumbered their alien parents by about 67,000 to 59,000 in a total population of about 307,000. The question of any great bulk of them returning to Japan had become academic. Having a proportionately large group to begin with, and favored with a more nearly equal male-to-female ratio than several other important immigrant groups—and thus experiencing a high birth rate—their numbers grew rapidly despite departures and the severe reduction of immigration after 1924. In

1940 there were 158,000 Japanese, more than that of any other ethnic category, in a total population of 423,000. The Japanese in Hawai'i, now more than 90 percent Americans, have not only continued to increase in numbers—although at a decreasing rate and forming a smaller proportion of the total population than in the past—but have also permeated economic and political structures, with formal education as their major avenue of social mobility.

The geographical distribution of Japanese throughout Hawai'i still reflects to a considerable extent their early plantation days, despite the great pulling power of Honolulu in intervening decades. While census figures for 1970 indicate that 78 percent of the Japanese population resided on O'ahu, there were, nevertheless, more Japanese than members of any other ethnic category on Hawai'i, Maui, and Kaua'i.

In plantation communities the Japanese, as with other immigrant labor groups, lived in ethnically segregated camps, both by their own preference and for the convenience of plantation management. Those leaving plantations for Honolulu often first settled in camp-like concentrations in low-rent areas on the edges of the downtown business district as well as along the main and side streets of Pāwa'a and Mōili'ili districts and of Pālama and Kālihi.

Movement out of plantation employment was not wholly a matter of taking up work in urban areas. A good many of these peasant-stock Japanese, following a pattern set by the Chinese, bought or leased available land and took up independent farming—sugarcane to be processed by plantation mills, coffee, rice, vegetables, hog-raising—and to this day the small, independent farmer in Hawai'i is overwhelmingly Japanese. In some localities there was enough of a concentration of Japanese farmers—among the coffee growers of Kona, for instance, or the small clusters of fishermen families on the shores of Kāne'ohe Bay—to form rural communities that permitted or induced some of the solidarity-engendering mutual claims and expectations reminiscent of village life in Japan.

Economically and occupationally, Japanese experience has closely paralleled that of most immigrant groups coming to Hawai'i when the predominant economic activity was plantation agriculture. For twenty or thirty years (1890-1920), when Japanese were dominant providers of labor for sugar cultivation, they were themselves overwhelmingly laborers. A limited degree

of occupational mobility was possible on plantations, but there were opportunities for the less conservative —shop-keeping, truck farming, fishing, the building trades, service occupations like barbering and tailoring—outside the plantations that increased with the expanding economic structure accompanying a growing and increasingly urbanized population.

Greater movement into preferred levels of the expanding economic structure by Japanese began with the coming of age of *nisei* and *sansei* citizen generations. In the 1970s the average income of Japanese-headed households was closely bracketed with that of Korean, Chinese, and civilian Caucasian households. The proportion of Japanese relative to their numbers in the prestigious professions of medicine and law was similar to their position in family income, generally like and slightly smaller than that of the Chinese, Koreans, and Caucasians. Occupationally, in general, their relatively large numbers and also their relatively advanced schooling and training have allowed them to range widely in the white collar, technical, and professional fields, although they may at present be most conspicuous in local government positions. The present "over-representation" of Japanese among teachers and education administrators appears in large measure the result of an earlier emphasis to children of immigrant Japanese parents of the respectability and attainability of positions in teaching.

What transplanted Japanese knew as familiar and proper ways of conducting themselves in the family, with others, and with their gods served as important guides in their new homeland. Some of these cultural traits have retained their vitality even as they underwent modification, their bearers adapting themselves through the generations to the prevailing American way of life. But other old-country traits have either faded or survive without original functional and emotional meanings. In the critical transitions of the life cycle, marriage by match-making is a thing of the past, but funerals, for other than committed Christians, still generally call for a Buddhist ceremony and serve as occasions for relatives as well as for acquaintances beyond the kin group to recognize and reaffirm established ties. The mixing of peoples and cultures that is Hawai'i has, of course, involved the Japanese. They have retained some traditional food preferences while acquiring a taste for other types of food, and have, at the same time, seen some of their distinctive dishes—like *sushi*, *sukiyaki* and *tempura*—become part of the more widely appreciated cuisine. Celebrating the new year tends to be

more of a family affair, and elaborate preparations for feasting, setting up pine and bamboo branches at the door, and other good luck symbols, and visiting shrine or temple are clearly on the wane. Festivities for the return to earth of departed ancestors, especially the *bon* dance, appear to be a summer fixture, although they involve smaller and smaller proportions of the increasing population of Japanese descent.

Certain arts, now primarily regarded in Japan as desirable accomplishments for young ladies—flower arrangement, the tea ceremony, the dance associated with *kabuki*—were, at the time of large-scale immigration of Japanese villages, refinements of living among families of social classes with more extended opportunities for leisure and formal training. Some of these traditional artistic skills, along with judo, karate, and other martial arts now, especially after World War II, have a wide group of participants that includes but is not confined to those of Japanese descent. Both the Japanese language schools and the Japanese press, important immigrant-established institutions before World War II, still survive, but with a decreasing sense of urgency with each passing decade. American-born Asians are now encouraged by the entire community to learn and use the tongue of their immigrant forebears. Japanese has had a revival; it is now taught not only in the after-school-hours Japanese language schools but also as part of the regular curriculum of many public and private high schools. At the University of Hawai'i, Japanese is the most popular foreign language.

Religion—in the sense of personal faith related to an organizational structure of a priesthood, regular congregational meetings for worship, and officially pronounced sacred literature—has been taken rather lightly by most Japanese, in modern Japan as well as in Hawai'i. This is not to deny the comforting and educating role the various Buddhist sects, and to a lesser extent the Shinto representatives, have played; the *butsudan* (altar for departed ancestors), for example, was a common household object in most Japanese homes for decades. But the long-established traditional religious sects in modern times, in Japan as well as in Hawai'i, have not so much contended with competing religions like Christianity as functioned among a secularly oriented people. Indeed, in Hawai'i as in Japan, the most vigorous religious movements that call for wholehearted commitment and proselytizing zeal have been the so-called "new religions" of Japan, some of which seek with some

success to gain adherents from people of any and all ethnic backgrounds.

This brief description of some of the facets of Japanese culture in Hawai'i has postulated a high degree of homogeneity in ethnic identity, language, customs, and even in social class origins. Important exceptions to this sense of ethnic and cultural homogeneity—with little else to serve as a basis for significant distinctions within the Japanese community—have been the social division between the *Naichi* (those from Japan proper) and those from Okinawa, and the less significant distinction, maintained for a while among immigrants, between the "ordinary" Japanese and persons from the social outcast, or *eta*, sections of homeland villages.

That a group's status in the community should vary as the group's role and actions shift or become more diversified—and as the conceptions of the group held by others change—is a commonplace phenomenon, and the Japanese in Hawai'i have not been any exception. As an addition to and for a while the numerical mainstay of the labor force of the burgeoning plantations, immigrant Japanese were at first desirable newcomers, to the planters and to the government, despite the annoyance of periodic complaints about working conditions and the watchful concern of the Meiji government. The general picture today is of the Japanese as a well-established, accepted (albeit somewhat grudgingly), predominantly American group several generations removed from the poorly educated foreign plantation workers. This may suggest plodding, uneventful progress within and into the evolving, complex social fabric of modern Hawai'i, but the Japanese, no less than many other newcomer groups and more conspicuously than most, underwent critical experiences in their status changes.

As plantation workers the Japanese were quite satisfactory, but their large numbers in the fields in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries presented problems of efficient management. Major sugar strikes by Japanese workers in 1909 and 1920, for example, clearly were threats to management's labor control policy, no longer supported by the contract system permitted by the Masters and Servants Act of pre-annexation Hawai'i. And important as their conduct might be on the plantations, where Filipino workers outnumbered them from the early 1920s, who the Japanese were and what they were doing more generally came to be defined in a number of critical ways.

Thanks to a predominance of families over single men in the immigrant generation, the numerically significant, Confucian-tradition Japanese community not only grew rapidly through natural increase but also exercised effective social control over its members. Juvenile delinquency, adult crime rates, and other indices of family breakdown and individual and social disorganization were usually lower than the community average over the decades.

The *nisei* studied diligently in public schools and extended their school day, learning Japanese in private language schools. They absorbed parental emphasis on family cohesion and family reputation, married overwhelmingly within their own large group that offered many choices for mates, and in general strove to "make good" in an unspectacular, conservative manner, a way that appeared quite consonant with both the traditional values of their parents and the Protestant ethic of the American middle class. (Very recent figures, however, show a third of Japanese mate selections outside the ethnic group, contributing significantly to "mixed-blood" in the Islands.)

But the very conformity to those cultural values that produced upward-aspiring, law-abiding, family-respecting, group-cohesive, non-wave-making, Hawai'i-born Japanese was subject to less than laudatory interpretation. Their assimilability into the mainstream of American life in Hawai'i was suspect. They seemed to be retaining their Oriental physical features, the cultural habits of their parents and ancestors, and their boundary-maintaining clannishness. At levels beyond what Island Japanese did or did not do was the fact of deteriorating relations between the United States and Japan in the 1920s and 1930s and the presence of a large Japanese population in this vital outpost of the American military in the Pacific. The *issei* leadership's successful challenge of government attempts to curb, if it did not eliminate, private Japanese language schools, deemed by some an obviously assimilation-retarding institution that fostered psychological if not political loyalty to Japan, did not endear the Japanese to those who saw them as a threat to military security. Japanese participation in sugar strikes had threatened the economic well-being of the community. The aberrant but sensational kidnap-murder in 1928 of the youngster of a kama'āina haole family by a disturbed youth named Fukunaga helped to define further the "spot" the Japanese were in. In an even more sensational case a few years later, the fact that two Japanese youths were among five accused of raping Thalia Massie, a navy

lieutenant's wife, did not help the low-profile wishes of the self-conscious Japanese, although the focus of opprobrium this time was more widely diffused. Members of the Japanese community were finding themselves so defined that they were expected to behave according to standards of conduct not equally applied to other ethnic groups.

The bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 by Japanese planes, the four years of war, and the total defeat of Japan settled questions of ambiguity about the loyalty of Japanese-Americans. Along with young men of other groups in Hawai'i, thousands of Japanese marched off to war. Their special status prevented them from being drafted or voluntarily joining any armed service after Pearl Harbor until they were permitted to volunteer to form, in early 1943, a special, segregated regimental combat team, the 442nd, which fought with distinction and heavy casualties in Europe along with the 100th Infantry Battalion, whose members were pre-Pearl Harbor *nisei* draftees. There were others who served primarily in the Pacific as interpreter-soldiers in American army and navy units. Japanese at home, aliens and citizens alike, carried on homefront activities along with the rest of the residents.

World War II and its end settled some issues as to who or what the Japanese in Hawai'i were, and the energies of the Japanese as well as others were now directed toward resuming or beginning their lives, of getting an education—the G.I. Bill benefits were a godsend to many veterans—of making a living, climbing up the economic ladder, raising families, and participating in government. Within a decade after the close of World War II, Japanese Americans, who had made up more than a fourth of the eligible voters even before Pearl Harbor, were ethnically the major source of active members in a revived Democratic Party under John A. Burns. The Japanese as a group have become highly visible, politically, with many individuals elected as county councilmen, state legislators, and representatives in Congress. In 1974 George Ariyoshi was elected governor of the State, the first person of Asian descent to hold that office. Fujio Matsuda, named president of the University of Hawai'i in 1974, is the first non-Caucasian to be appointed to that office.

That the "peoples of Hawai'i" will retain their ethnic identities, some in greater degree than others, at the same time that they increasingly become more and more "Hawai'i's people" appears to be a prospect for some time to come. The nearly one-third of the

resident population who are Japanese, whose young adults are mainly two and even three generations removed from their immigrant forebears in the heyday of plantation agriculture, readily acknowledge their ancestry at the same time that they are aware of how little they are actually Japanese and how much they are part of the American middle class—or aspire to be a part of it. Few know the Japanese language except as they laboriously learn it in school. Most are probably involved in closely knit family ties but not because, as may have been the case in *issei-nisei* relations, it is constantly dinned into their ears that good Japanese respect their parents and do not bring shame to their families. They are vicariously proud of the esthetic traditions of Japan, of the capabilities of the feudal *samurai*, of the people of industrialized Japan, and of the humbler contributions of their immigrant ancestors in Hawai'i. But like others who grow up in the Islands, and as they usually and quickly find out when they are abroad, on the Mainland, in Japan, or elsewhere, their identification with Hawai'i as their home is pronounced.

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THE PORTUGUESE IN HAWAI'I

Genevieve Correa and Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr.

In accordance with Island custom, immigrants from territories of Portugal (chiefly the Azores and Madeira islands) and their descendants have been identified as Portuguese, even though many of the latter are issue of intermarriage with other ethnic groups and do not think of themselves as Portuguese. In 1967 there were approximately 21,720 individuals, or 3.3 percent of the total population, identified as of unmixed Portuguese ancestry, and of these, 13,120 or 60 percent, were residing on O'ahu. A somewhat earlier tabulation listed 15,913 of unmixed ancestry and 13,536 mixed with one other strain.[1]

The Portuguese are found on all major islands, distributed among all major occupational classes. In contrast with a group like the Chinese, there has been some tendency for the Portuguese to remain in rural, plantation areas in greater numbers, particularly on Neighbor Islands, though many live and work in urban centers. The fact that the U.S. Census since 1930 has not distinguished Portuguese from other Caucasians, and that there has been relatively large migration of other Caucasians from the Mainland, means the proportion of Portuguese in the population has steadily diminished from the peak of 14.1 percent in 1890. Another factor is the tendency of members of the group to move to the Mainland, especially to California. Extensive intermarriage has meant that a large number have simply disappeared into the category of Caucasian (and when intermarried with non-Caucasians, they are sometimes referred to as Cosmopolitan).

Among Europeans, the Portuguese were the earliest to reach the western shores of the Pacific—by way of Africa, India, South East Asia, and up to the Spice Islands, even to Japan in the sixteenth century. Magellan and his men, of course, circumnavigated the globe, making the first crossing of the Pacific from east to west. However, we do not know when the first Portuguese reached Hawai'i. There do not appear to have been any with Captain Cook on his visits in 1778 and 1779.

A Portuguese crewman on the *Daedalus*, Vancouver's store ship, was mortally wounded in a fray at Waimea, O'ahu, on 7 May 1792. Early in 1794, Vancouver noted that there were eleven foreigners with Kamehameha at Kealakekua, among them a Portuguese.[2] He is the first Portuguese resident of which we have record, though there may have been others.

Certainly the best known and most important of early Portuguese in the Islands was João Eliot de Castro, a native of Portugal who had earlier migrated to Buenos Aires but had become physician to Kamehameha by 1812. He left Hawai'i, spent some time at sea and on the North American continent (from Alaska to Acapulco), and returned to Hawai'i in 1816 with Kotzebue. Thereafter he served Kamehameha as a minister.

The foreign population increased beginning in 1790, and Portuguese were among those who arrived in the earliest decades, increasing to 486 by 1878. About 4.6 percent of the foreign population, thus, was identified as Portuguese. Most had been seamen in the fur and sandalwood trade and on whaling ships. The *Hawaiian Gazette* commented in 1876, ". . . they are among the most industrious of our people, being generally small farmers or dairymen, or serving on plantations and ranches."

Perhaps a typical representative of this early, pre-1878 group was Antone Rosa, Sr., born about 1826, who arrived on a whaling ship in 1852, settled on Moloka'i, and married a Hawaiian woman. He had five sons and, at the time of his death 7 October 1896, was a farmer in Kalihi, O'ahu.

The need for plantation labor which followed upon the 1875 reciprocity treaty with the U.S. caused the Islands to look toward Portugal, among other sources. Earlier experience with single Chinese men had moved the government to work toward immigration of families. In November 1876 the Bureau of Immigration voted to defray the cost of importing 200 Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores. Though the project was not carried out, it was the first definite step toward large-scale immigration of Portuguese.

The beginning of that immigration was implemented largely by Dr. William Hillebrand who had lived long in Hawai'i, returned to Germany, and who was, in 1876, temporarily in Madeira. From there he wrote in December that conditions were favorable to an emigration to Hawai'i and that he would be willing to help the project. He was appointed Commissioner of Immigration

and authorized to proceed. After many difficulties, a pioneer company was assembled. It arrived on the bark *Pricilla* from Funchal in September 1878. There were sixty men, twenty-two women, and thirty-eight children aboard.

In the next ten years seventeen ships brought 10,998 Portuguese to the Hawaiian Islands. During the tenure of the Republic, a single ship in 1895 brought 657 more. Since then, all immigrants from Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores have come as individuals, though the pattern of family emigration has continued. Approximately 5,500 persons, one-fourth of the total Portuguese immigration, arrived between 1906 and 1913.

From the plantation ownership point of view, the Portuguese were expensive because of the need to first transport, then house, entire families. However, they proved capable, many achieving the status of *luna*, i.e., foreman.

One of the important effects of the wave of immigration was to change markedly the proportion of male to female Portuguese in the Islands. In 1872, of 395 Portuguese there were only twenty-eight females, but by 1884 there were 4,138 females out of 9,997. During the eleven years (1878-1888) when the largest number, 11,000 Portuguese, were recruited for the plantations of Hawai'i, less than a third (31 percent) were adult men, while the majority consisted of children (47 percent) and women (22 percent).

There is a vivid firsthand account of one of the immigrant voyages available in English translation by a member of the Portuguese "colony"[3] The log of the trip was kept by João Baptista d'Oliveira (J. B. Oliver) and Vicente Ornellas, who left Madeira aboard the English sailing vessel *Thomas Bell* in November 1887 and arrived at O'ahu on 12-13 April 1888. On so long a voyage, about five months, the passengers had vivid and sometimes harrowing experiences. One episode in the log tells of a storm at sea during which a passenger threw into the ocean an image of the *Menino Jesus* (Christ Child), a few minutes after which the weather cleared. The narrators parenthetically observe: "We do not say this was because the *Menino Jesus* was tossed into the sea; we do know, however, that the calm followed that act."

Before annexation of Hawai'i in 1898, the Portuguese became a politically significant group, and

during the period of change from kingdom to republic and republic to U.S. territory, there was a consciousness in the Islands of a "Portuguese vote."

A significant Hawaiian-Portuguese leader of the period was Judge Anton Rosa (1855-1898), the eldest son of the Antone Rosa, Sr. cited above. Judge Rosa was educated at the Royal School, became deputy clerk to the Supreme Court in 1882, and, after studying law for two years, was admitted to the Hawai'i bar in October 1884. He served King Kalakaua as attorney general from 15 November 1886 to June 1887, and in 1896 he was judge of the third and fourth circuit courts. Apparently a royalist at heart, he was, nevertheless, able to make decisions which took account of all the interests in the Islands. He was fluent in English and Hawaiian and knew French. Oddly, there is no mention of his knowledge of Portuguese.

Of the ten consuls and consul-generals, known to have served the Portuguese community in Hawaii during the past century, at least three were themselves immigrants from Portugal, and others were born and educated in these islands.[4]

Between 1885 and 1927 there were at least twelve Portuguese language newspapers in Honolulu and Hilo, the oldest being *Luso Hawaiiano* and the most recent *O Facho* (The Torch). Sometimes these papers printed literary material written in Portuguese by local people. Two poems, narrating events of immigrant life on the island of Hawai'i, were written by José Tavares de Teves of Honoka'a plantation, appearing in 1885 and 1886. The author, who came to Hawai'i on the *Suffolk* in 1881, had a wide reputation as a poet, song writer, and musician.

Some Portuguese in the Islands have written authentic works of ethnic literature in English. Two novels, in particular, should be mentioned. Elvira Osorio Roll's *Hawaii's Kohala Breezes* (New York, Exposition Press, 1975) deals with the experience of a Hawaiian girl of Portuguese descent, including instances of prejudice by Mainlanders. In *Haole, Come Back* (Chicago, Adams Press, 1975), James A. Carvalho deals with a fictional restoration of all Hawaiian lands to the Hawaiian people by the U.S. Supreme Court. Carvalho published under the pseudonym "James Oaktree." In Portuguese, *carvalho* is "oak tree." For many years Carvalho has been prominent in presenting Portuguese music on local radio, arranging to show Portuguese films, and stimulating other aspects of Portugal's culture.

By and large, the Portuguese relinquished their language fairly soon, adopting Hawaiian and English (by 1886, the Portuguese made up almost one-tenth of total school enrollment, a consequence of the large number of children among immigrants). And yet a fair number of words entered both Hawaiian and English in Island use (e.g., *pao doce*, 'sweet bread' and the Hawaiian *pakaliao*, 'codfish,' from *bacalhau*). Hawaiian words relating to the Roman Catholic Church may owe their phonetic shape and currency in part, at least, to their use by the Portuguese, e.g., the Hawaiian *Maria Saneta*, 'Holy Mary,' which better corresponds to the Portuguese *Maria Santa* than to the Latin *Maria Sancta*, and the Hawaiian *Kristiano*, almost exactly like the Portuguese *cristiano*. Among other Hawaiian terms suggestive of such influence are *Pukikī*, 'Portuguese,' and *wiola*, 'viol,' corresponding to the Portuguese *viola*, a type of small guitar. If *wiola* were from spoken English, one would expect a Hawaiian spelling with *-ai* rather than with *-i-*. Elizabeth Carr states: "The influence of Portuguese upon the English language in Hawaii is considerable even though the actual number of loanwords heard today is small."[5]

A convenient source on manifestations of Portuguese culture is a series of sketches of immigrant life by Elma Tranquada Cabral which appeared in *Paradise of the Pacific* between 1946 and 1954:

> The holiday customs—wine-drinking at Christmas; the *lapinha* or Nativity scenes; the mass followed by *caldo de galinha*, 'chicken broth.' The widespread use of nicknames—*O Torto da Manoa*, 'The Cockeyed [Farmer] of Manoa'; *A Rosa das Vacas*, 'Rose of the Cows'; *A Fava Seca*, 'Dried Horse-Bean.' The practice of folk medicine —as performed by the *curandeira*, 'practitioner,' versed in herbs and other remedies for such ailments as the *bucho virada*, 'reversed stomach,' or by the *feiticeira*, the 'sorceress,' adept in testing for the *quebranto*, 'spell of depression, illness, or the like caused by someone's evil eye.' Concerning music—an account of the forerunners of the *'ukulele*, including the *braguinha*, the *machete de Madeira*, the *viola* (Portuguese guitar), and the *rajão*, 'five-stringed taro patch fiddle,' also called the *cavaquinho*.
>
> Much about food—*carne de vinha d'alhos*, 'marinated pork'; *cebolas*, Portuguese pickles or 'pickled onions'; *trêmoços* (salted) 'lupine beans'; *bôlo de mel*, 'honey cake'; *rosquihas*, 'ring shaped cakes'; *arroz con feijão*, 'rice with ham, beans, pumpkin, and tomatoes'; *malassadas*, 'doughnuts'; *acorda*, 'stew with garlic, bread crumbs, oil, and eggs'; *morcela*, 'blood sausage'; and *linguiça*, the almost universally popular Portuguese sausage.

Christianity is important in the Portuguese tradition, of course; the majority of Portuguese, in the homeland and Hawai'i, are Catholics, and many of the values and customs are related to religion. One of the most eminent members of the immigrant group was Stephen P. Alencastre (1876-1940), who became Bishop of Arabissus and Vicar Apostolic for Hawai'i in 1924. He had arrived in the Islands in 1882.

A characteristic Old World festival maintained in the Islands is the Feast of the Holy Ghost, at Pentecost, commemorating a ceremony begun by Queen Isabel of Portugal, wife of Dom Diniz, instituted at Alemquer, near Lisbon, early in the fourteenth century. It is more popular in the Azores than on the continent, and in Hawai'i includes the blessing of the meat, a mass, a procession with music (often provided by the Royal Hawaiian Band), donations, and the crowning of a queen. The festival or carnival lasts several days and is the responsibility of the Brotherhoods of the Holy Ghost, of which two remain on Neighbor Islands and three in Honolulu, the latter associated with the Holy Trinity, Kalihi, Punchbowl, and Kewalo.

An interesting development was establishment of Portuguese Protestant churches. As early as 1867 there were efforts by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to convert Portuguese Catholics, and by 1889 there was an evening school and a Sunday school, with B. F. Dillingham as superintendent. On 19 September 1890, three Portuguese Protestant ministers reached Honolulu under the auspices of the evangelical group. They were the Reverend E. N. Pires, the Reverend Antonio Victorino Soares (pastor of the Portuguese Evangelical Church in Honolulu until 1928), and the Reverend Robert K. Baptist(e), or Baptista, who served in Hilo until 1902. Portuguese Protestant churches, with their hymns in the language, acted to some degree as a conservative influence, while the Catholic church fostered acculturation, for parishes of that faith were not ethnically based—though certain churches, because of residence patterns, had a fairly large number of Portuguese communicants, and still do. An example is Our Lady of the Mount (*Nossa Senhora do Monte*) in upper Kalihi. On a hill overlooking this church is a statue of Our Lady of the Mount duplicating one on the island of Madeira. And inside the church is another statue which wears human hair donated by a young woman of the parish.

There were very few Portuguese priests in the early period (nor are there many now) but many made shift to learn enough Portuguese to use it in the

confessional and in sermons, a task made easier by similarities with Latin. In more recent years the language has been used in the church only on special occasions. Church sanction of a change of the mass from Latin to the vernaculars throughout the world had an eventful result in Hawai'i. On 2 June 1974 at the Church of St. Theresa in Honolulu, the Right Reverend Monsignor Benedict M. Vierra celebrated the first mass in Portuguese in the Islands, with a choir trained by Mrs. Cecy de Souza Browne singing in the same language. Two years later, this Portuguese Pentecost mass was repeated at the same church as a project of the Portuguese Council of Hawaii.

Like most other immigrant groups with little or no access to established sources of capital, the Portuguese fostered accumulation of savings among their number. But the Portuguese Benevolent Society was formed in order to be able to help individuals hit by adversity—invalids, widows, and orphans, for example. The earliest of these appears to have been St. Antonio's Benevolent Society, organized 1 January 1877. In 1882 the Lusitana Society was organized, and in 1903 two more—A Patria (The Fatherland) and São Martinho. An interesting accounting by Marques[6] reveals the economic benefits of two of these groups. Between 1882 and 1910 Lusitana resources came to $495,752 and between 1877 and 1910, the figure for St. Antonio was $367,253. The amounts are very respectable considering that they were accumulated from dues paid by fewer than 4,000 members of both groups combined, mostly people of low income. In time, the need for these societies disappeared, and in the *Honolulu Advertiser* of 1 May 1955 it was reported that St. Antonio was ending seventy-eight years of activity.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to list all the fields in which the Portuguese have been noteworthy, but such a list would have to include politics, music, sports, the dance, law, bread and pastry-making, sausage preparation, education, health, and the church life of Hawai'i, all areas in which these people have taken notable part.

NOTES

1. Population data derived from Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, Statistical Report 111, "The Portuguese Population of Hawaii," Honolulu, 1976.

2. George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific and Round the World* (London, 1801), V, p. 112.

3. J. B. d'Oliveira and V. d'Ornellas, "Destination, Sandwich Islands," Trans. L. Canario, *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 4 (1970): 3-52.

4. Further detail on the history of the Portuguese consulate is available in the files of the two writers of this article.

5. Elizabeth Carr, *Da Kine Talk: From Pidgin to Standard English in Hawaii* (University Press of Hawaii, 1972), p. 97.

6. A. Marques, "The Portuguese in Hawaii," *Hawaiian Annual* (1911), pp. 43-53.

THE GERMANS

Helmut Hormann

Before the middle of the nineteenth century there was little to relate the Hawaiian kingdom to the German-speaking countries of Europe, though occasional visitors cannot be discounted, such as the Franco-German poet and naturalist Adelbert von Chamisso, whose account of his visit as a member of the Kotzebue expedition in 1816 has considerable historical merit. The burgeoning whaling trade in the middle of the nineteenth century put German seamen on Honolulu streets, among them Captain H. Hackfeld who returned in 1849 to establish a whaler's supply store, thus beginning the mercantile dynasty that has become Amfac. Hackfeld was followed by other German traders and within a few years an active colony had evolved (Kuykendall 1938:304; *Hawaiian Annual* 1913:71). The rapidly expanding plantation system provided supervisory positions for Germans. Honolulu attracted such professionals as T. C. Heuck, architect for the Royal Mausoleum, 'Iolani Barracks, and the first building in The Queen's Hospital complex. William Hillebrand, German physician and botanist, became the hospital's first director, and the author of a monumental work on Island flora. The gardens of his home are now Foster Botanical Gardens. In 1854 a German club was formed, surviving today as the German Benevolent Society.

During the 1870s the search for European labor in the face of a declining Island population was headed by Dr. Hillebrand who was appointed special agent for the royal Bureau of Immigration and who formulated a plan to import German laborers (Hormann 1931:4). In 1881 the sailing ship *Ceder* arrived with 130 Germans recruited principally from northwestern Germany. In the succeeding nine years a total of 1,337 Germans arrived (Hormann 1931:45). They were distributed among plantations on Kaua'i, Maui, and Hawai'i but were most thickly settled in Līhu'e where they formed a community adhering to the language and customs of the homeland. They had been trained not only in agricultural pursuits but as machinists, blacksmiths, and in other trades. They were, in a sense, bilingual, speaking low German as well as the high German learned in school. Their literacy rate was 85 percent

(Hormann 1931:76). The little colony was sufficiently homogeneous to be able to preserve its language and customs; in the larger and more cosmopolitan Honolulu the tendency toward assimilation was unavoidable.

The community at Līhu'e and the outlying plantations centered upon the German school, founded in 1882, and the church, organized in 1883. The first teacher and minister, Friedrich Richter, was a young theological student who came to Hawai'i as a private tutor. Despite his incomplete training he was ordained. Enrollment in the school reached its peak in 1896 with ninety-six registered pupils (Hormann 1931:24). In 1883 it had become necessary to hire another teacher, the pastor continuing to function at both church and school. In 1887 the Rev. Hans Isenberg succeeded Richter.

Teaching methods and goals were similar to those of German village schools of the period. There are still graduates of Līhu'e school who, though born on Kaua'i, speak an irreproachable German, lacking the pronunciation so prevalent among German-Americans. During the 1880s and 1890s the school received financial support from the Hawaiian government, but this ceased in 1896 and the Isenberg family assumed additional financial responsibility. When the United States entered World War I in 1917, it became increasingly difficult to maintain the school. After the death of Pastor Isenberg his widow, Dora Rice Isenberg, continued its support, refusing to close it until ordered to do so by the superintendent of public instruction (Hormann 1931:81; Kuykendall 1928: 437-438).

The German Lutheran Church of Honolulu was founded in 1900, based on a gift of $50,000 from the two top officers of Hackfeld and Co. to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the firm. The German community in Honolulu was not cohesive: on the one hand were the socially elite leaders and, on the other, those of various backgrounds and less prominent position, some of whom moved to the city from Kaua'i and other islands. Geographically they did not form a compact unit. The first pastor, the Reverend Willibald Felmy, estimated the size of the German community on O'ahu at 500 persons. The sanctuary, in German gothic style, was designed by C. W. Dickey and located opposite the present state capitol on Beretania Street. In a letter Pastor Felmy complained that his young people were not able to handle the German language. "Vor der Bibel die Fibel," he wrote,

meaning the Bible was incomprehensible without a mastery of the primer. He saw the need for a school and a building to house it. Mrs. Marie Hackfeld responded by supplying half the cost, the remainder coming from the German community. Felmy described a fund-raising bazaar held on German Consul Alexander Isenberg's estate, a part of which is occupied today by Fernhurst and the Lutheran Church of Honolulu. The affair, which raised several thousand dollars, was considerably enlivened by attendance of officers and men of a visiting German training ship.

The Honolulu school cannot be compared with that at Līhu'e, but rather with the Japanese and Chinese language schools which still exist. Instruction was given four afternoons in the week. Felmy also reported initiating a social group which met weekly, dedicated to preservation of German language and culture.

Felmy was succeeded by the Reverend Emil Engelhardt who, like Felmy, was under the jurisdiction of the Prussian State Church. In a pamphlet published in Hamburg in 1922, Engelhardt discussed his pastorate. His religious responsibilities seemed secondary to his stubborn insistence on revival and preservation of German language and culture in Hawai'i, but the forces of assimilation were at work. Engelhardt was particularly active in developing a German library, in fostering German music, and evenings devoted to propagation of German literature and thought. He attempted in vain to expand the scope of the German school and after two years resigned in frustration.

With ever-darkening clouds of war in Europe, the German Lutheran Church made the strategic move of calling a pastor who was a U.S. citizen with fluency in the German language. In 1916 the Reverend Arthur Hormann, a native of Missouri with theological training in an American seminary and a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin, was selected. His contract stipulated that he and his wife, a native of Berlin, function also in the language school. The entry of the U.S. into the war threatened the very existence of the church. Prejudice of the time was against every vistage of German language and culture. It was a time when street names were being changed, and some people changed their names (Kuykendall 1928:434). The Vigilance Committee, headed by former Governor George Carter, left no stone unturned in a search for seditious activity. Pastor Hormann in a letter to his father in Wisconsin reported the virulent attack

he had suffered for continuing to preach in a foreign tongue. With American entry into the war, he reduced the language school to two afternoons a week and early in 1918 suspended operations completely (Kuykendall 1928:437-438). He also began the inevitable transition away from the German tongue with the addition of a single English service every month. With the beginning of World War II, the last remaining German service, held early on Sunday mornings, was abandoned and the church became a religious and social center for large groups of servicemen.

The Reverend Felmy taught all early courses in German at the College of Hawaii. He was succeeded by Maria Heuer, also a German citizen. With American entry into World War I, the language was abandoned. In response to an attack upon her loyalty, Miss Heuer wrote: "I am in principle against any kind of war, and therefore not loyal to any government at war, but to my own conviction of truth" (*Star-Bulletin* 22 and 26 March and 21 December 1917). Her resignation was accepted by President Arthur Dean, who assured the community that the university was not a hotbed of enemy intrigue (Kuykendall 1928:435-436). The teaching of German was dropped from high schools under pressure from the Vigilance Committee, a member of which was quoted as saying he was in favor of relegating German to the status of a dead language.

CONCLUDING NOTE

Bernhard Hormann

This article was originally written for the language section of the Encyclopedia. The editor-in-chief suggested it be added to the ethnic section, a suggestion we were glad to follow.

World War I not only caused the disappearance, temporary fortunately, of the German language, but of the small but active German community in Honolulu and Līhu'e. The University of Hawai'i revived German language instruction in 1927, as did some of the high schools in due course, but while there are about 700 German aliens living in Hawai'i, there is no evidence of a Germany community and the originally German businesses, churches, and associations are all gone or fully American and English-speaking. As elsewhere in the United States, the two World Wars hastened the destruction of the small German community.

June 18, 1981 marked the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first German immigrant families on the *Ceder*. The total number of passengers was 124, of whom most were Germans. They were destined for Līhu'e Plantation. A careful record was kept of the German children baptized, although the minister was a Reverend Mr. Hanaike, a Congregationalist, but this activity was the beginning of what in 1883 became the first German Lutheran Church in Hawai'i. A luau at the Līhu'e Lutheran Church in June, 1981, is to celebrate the beginnings of Lutheran activity in Hawai'i. It may serve also to celebrate the centennial of the arrival of the *Ceder* Germans. In Honolulu the Friday noon Royal Hawaiian Band concert on June 19, 1981 paid tribute to the memory of these immigrants from Germany.

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THE PUERTO RICANS

Milton N. Silva and Blase Camacho Souza

The Puerto Ricans—those who emigrated to Hawai'i between 1900 and 1906, and their descendants—comprise one of the smaller ethnic groups in the Islands. The immigrants were a racially and culturally mixed group —predominantly Spanish, but with admixture from small numbers of other European settlers, from African slaves brought principally from the Guinea Coast, and from the aboriginal Indian population.

Puerto Ricans have not been counted by the census since 1950, but it is estimated there are 5,000 in the Islands, or less than one percent of the total. They are even more mixed today, of course, for they have intermarried freely with other ethnic groups.

The immigrants came because of both natural and man-made disasters at home—hurricane, epidemic, and a Spanish colonial regime which in four-and-one-half centuries had left Puerto Rico economically constricted, semi-feudal, its population fatalistic about its condition. Invasion by U.S. troops and the transfer of sovereignty from Spain was a major disturbance. Unemployment, the low living standards of an agricultural economy, subsistence farming, uncertainty over American occupation—all were factors contributing to a willingness to leave the homeland.

But emigration was a hot issue. Jose de Diego, poet and public figure, said: "Some American companies, in the horrendous industry of exploiting the good faith and the misery of our country people, or moved consciously or unconsciously by the desire or the intuition of driving the natives from their land, took thousands of unhappy peasants to Hawaii, Yucatán, and some other far country" (Falcón 1975).

Immigration began after a meeting in Washington, D.C., of Hawai'i and Puerto Rico commissioners who matched Puerto Rico's need to provide for the desperate plight of her people with the need in Hawai'i for cheap sugar plantation labor. They agreed that Puerto Rican families would be invited to immigrate to Hawai'i and settle and work there.

Many Puerto Ricans still remember the name of Albert E. Minville, Sr., the son of a Puerto Rican mother and American father, who recruited immigrants in his home area of southwestern Puerto Rico, which had been badly damaged by a hurricane. Coffee was the important crop of that district—a fact which led to much restlessness when migrants found themselves in the Islands' cane fields.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) accepted only married couples and families, a requirement confusing at the time, for Puerto Rico had a high percentage of consensual marriages which, by tradition and durability, had acquired social legitimacy. Some of these couples did make the trip. Further, a number of single persons were able to pose as members of families. Most immigrants planned to return with enough money to buy and cultivate land at home, an intention that rarely materialized.

The first to leave, in late 1900, were 194 men, women, and children, but because of death and desertion fewer arrived. By 1906 almost 5,000 had made the trip. Through the years, many individuals left for the Mainland for various reasons, and most never returned. Students sent to Mainland trade schools and colleges seldom returned, choosing to remain where greater opportunity for varied employment and advancement existed.

The *jibaro*, the Puerto Rican peasant of the mountainous regions, has been described as poor, humble, independent, reticent with strangers, laconic, skeptical, hospitable, and humorous. He was also a poet-musician. Working together, two men would often spontaneously begin a *porfia*—a friendly composing and singing competition—each responding to the other in extempore verse. The *jibaro*'s sense of *individualismo* and *personalismo* made him poor at teamwork. He demanded *respeto*, and felt that his manliness, or *machismo*, his *dignidad de la persona* were threatened if he did not receive *respeto*. The most jarring note in him was his fatalism. He was likely to accept any setback with a shrug of the shoulders, saying "*A quien Dios se lo da, San Pedro se lo bendiga*" (To whom God gives, let St. Peter bless).

This countryman, also called *campesino* in rural areas, was the taproot of the culture—a rarity, for the "ideal type" was not the rich or powerful, but rather the poor peasant.

Upon arrival in Honolulu, immigrants went through the usual fumigation and quarantine period. Distribution of families to plantations apparently lacked any pattern other than numerical apportionment. Groups were sent to Kaua'i, Maui, O'ahu, and Hawai'i. Life on each plantation varied according to the pleasure of each manager, and covered everything from utter lack of sensitivity to solicitous concern. On some plantations, workers were assigned living quarters separated by ethnic group, but others were assigned to houses in a random manner, making for some interesting, even humorous combinations and involuntary experiments in human relations. In Kohala, newly arrived Puerto Ricans were dismayed late one afternoon to see a group of naked Japanese marching toward their homes. The newcomers knew nothing about the Japanese custom of communal bathing, nor did they know that the bathhouses were located behind their own homes. Expecting the worst, the Puerto Rican men grabbed their trusted machetes to protect their women's honor, and the Japanese men took to their heels.

For a very long time ethnic background and skin color were significant determinants in the social structure of the Islands, and occupational stratification and hierarchy were determined largely along ethnic lines. For a long time the Puerto Rican found himself low man on the totem pole. His role was aggravated, between 1898 and 1917, by the fact that he was not an American citizen. Though he was a citizen of Puerto Rico—an American possession—that status had no significance internationally, for Puerto Rico had no diplomatic representation or facilities with which to protect its citizens abroad. Even when citizenship was granted, by the Jones Act of 1917, the Territory of Hawaii tried to prevent those rights from applying to Puerto Rican immigrants. The *Advertiser* of 2 May 1917 reported that Puerto Rican residents were not entitled to vote, and that those who had left their country prior to the previous March were not to be regarded as citizens. However, a Puerto Rican in Hawai'i brought a mandamus suit and on 23 October 1917 the Hawai'i Supreme Court reversed a lower court decision, holding that all Puerto Ricans were U.S. citizens. With their citizenship—and the growth of military installations in Hawai'i with corresponding opportunities for employment—Puerto Ricans had access to much greater socio-economic mobility.

Puerto Ricans have been characterized as fun-loving, quick to sing and dance, to make music, to be gregarious. Their fiestas have fortified this impression.

It included the *baile* (the dance), food, drink, music, a chance to trade stories, to court, to meet friends. There are many excuses for celebration—baptisms, weddings, birthdays, saints' days, and such special Puerto Rican holidays as *El Dia de San Juan*, *El Dia de los Reyes*, and the Twelve Days of Christmas. These parties were popular, and have remained so. In rural areas, especially, many non-Puerto Ricans still attend.

Many of the dishes prepared for these occasions have joined the spectrum of cosmopolitan cuisine of the Islands. The *gandul*, a legume exclusively Puerto Rican, is used in several dishes. *Pasteles*, *frituras*, coconut desserts, and *lechon*—pig roasted on a spit—are especially popular. The sausages, *longaniza* and *morcillas*, and the breads, *pan dulce*, *pan de manteca*, and *pan de agua*, are also served.

While almost all the immigrants were Roman Catholics, some eventually abandoned that faith, and Pentecostalism was the most common alternative. Juan L. Lugo, converted to Pentecostalism in Honolulu by a missionary couple returning from China, returned to Puerto Rico in 1915, began proselytizing, and eventually established a seminary there.

There were sporadic efforts to preserve the Spanish language among the immigrants' children, often sponsored by the priests. A French priest formed a small class in Spanish in Hālawa, North Kohala, Hawai'i, early in this century. Some parents arranged with those immigrants who were literate to teach the children, often paying with meals. Others ordered *cartillas*, elementary reading textbooks, from Texas in order that their children might learn Spanish, but instruction was never formalized and the language began to disappear among the second generation. Today, the third generation play and dance to Latin music, but the words they sing must be memorized by rote.

Boxing has long been popular among Puerto Ricans, but their greatest enthusiasm in sports has been for baseball, and they established the extremely popular and durable Puerto Rican League, whose major center in the 1930s was Lanakila Park in Honolulu. Early teams used the names of towns their forebears had left behind—Arecibo, Mayaguez, and Ponce. Later, part-Puerto Ricans were allowed to play, and eventually the "Rican League" was enlarged to include such teams as the Fil-Americans, Army, Kaya Contractor, and Holsum Bakery.

As Puerto Ricans left the plantations, many moved to larger towns on Neighbor Islands, such as Hilo and Wailuku, where they could still maintain family ties and the familial support system. Following the Caribbean tradition, one family would place one or two older children in another's home while they went to school or sought work in the towns. The youngster would become *como familia*, one of the new family.

More families began moving to O'ahu, particularly the rural areas, and eventually there was movement into Honolulu, where some enclaves were formed. Although there was never a clear Puerto Rican section of the city at any time, there was a concentration of Puerto Ricans in Kālihi-Pālama. However, as better jobs brought higher income, Puerto Ricans began to disperse throughout O'ahu. Statistical documentation of this movement is available only to 1950. In that year 40.9 percent of Puerto Ricans in the Islands were in Honolulu, urbanization almost equal to that of the pure Hawaiians. In the same period, 28.5 percent of Island Filipinos and 80 percent of Chinese were in Honolulu.

Also in 1950, Filipinos had the highest proportion of employed males working as laborers, something just over half their total, while Puerto Ricans and pure Hawaiians were tied with the second highest proportion, at 34.5 percent. At that time only one percent of employed Puerto Rican and Filipino males were in the professions. Though no figures have been available since 1950, continued movement of Filipinos to the city, and away from common labor, is statistically evident and it is safe to assume similar trends among Puerto Ricans. It is apparent, though not documented, that Puerto Rican immigrants and their descendants have moved into the trades and professions, construction, factories, sales, the military, education, business and entertainment. Few have sought public office, but a notable exception was John Bulgo, who served on the Maui County Board of Supervisors from 1944 to 1953.

There is an active, statewide organization, the United Puerto Rican Association of Hawaii, Inc., created in November 1973 by merger of the Puerto Rican Civic Association (founded in 1931) with the Independent Puerto Rican Association (founded in 1932). The organization's scope has expanded from its early function of a "burial society" to an arena for the ventilation of common problems, a place to meet socially and to celebrate special occasions. In the

1930s and 1940s there was organization focus on political "clout," an emphasis which has been abandoned.

On the island of Hawai'i, the Kohala Puerto Rican Social Club—in informal existence for many years prior to 1958 but formally organized that year—has been preserving cultural roots. In 1976 there was a major effort to mark the 75th anniversary of the arrival of the first Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i and special commemorative events took place.

For the 80th celebration in 1980 the events were largely educational, with a state-wide pictorial exhibition, public forums and radio programs supported in part by the Hawaii Committee for the Humanities and sponsored by the Puerto Rican Heritage Society of Hawaii and the Hawaii Heritage Center. The society's focus is educational with plans for research, preservation of records, and dissemination of information.

Puerto Ricans have become virtually disconnected from the motherland. Since the last group migration of the early 1920s the community has not been replenished, except by isolated individuals. Puerto Ricans have intermarried with other ethnic groups and mixtures. About 75 percent of all Puerto Ricans who marry are marrying non-Puerto Ricans. The children and grandchildren are becoming one of the most rapidly growing multi-cultural groups in the Islands, choosing mores, traditions, and customs from several ethnic backgrounds.

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KOREANS IN HAWAI'I

Sarah Lee Yang

Throughout the nearly eighty years that Koreans have been resident in Hawai'i, they have constituted only a small minority of the Islands' population—between one and two percent. According to the U.S. Census of 1970, the 9,625 Koreans enumerated, including some of mixed ancestry, made up only 1.3 percent of all the people in the state, although by 1979, as recorded in the count by the Hawai'i Health Surveillance program, the number of Koreans of unmixed ancestry had increased to more than 14,000 or 1.6 percent of the total population.

As one of the several smaller ethnic groups in Hawai'i, the Koreans are also distinctive in an extremely high urban concentration, with 97 percent of their population residing in the City and County of Honolulu in 1978. The tendency to lose their separate identity as an ethnic group would also appear to be exceptionally pronounced, judging by their high rate of outmarriage. Nearly four-fifths (79.1 percent) of the 1,446 Koreans who were married during the five year period 1970-1974 found their mates among ethnic groups other than the Koreans, and in a similar period ten years earlier, the proportion of their out-marriages was almost as high (78.7 percent).

* * * *

In a very real sense, the initial foundations for Korean experience in Hawai'i were laid twenty years before their first immigrants set foot in these Islands and as a consequence of negotiations between two foreign governments in which the Hawaiian Kingdom played no part. On May 22, 1882, the U.S. opened itself to Koreans with a Treaty of Amity and Commerce, containing a proviso allowing visiting Koreans to "reside and rent premises, purchase land or to construct residences or warehouses in all parts of the country . . ." Fourteen years later the Republic of Hawai'i Board of Immigration, for its own reasons, noted that "the government look(ed) favorably upon the proposition to import Korean laborers, but will await applications from the Planters . . ."

However, it was the American Territory of Hawai'i to which the first of three waves of Koreans migrated. The beginning and ending of the first stage were abrupt. Following inquiry from an Island delegate, the Korean emperor granted permission on 15 November 1902 for his subjects to be employed abroad. On 10 December 1902 Hawai'i Governor Stanford B. Dole was persuaded that recruitment in Korea would be successful, and on 13 January 1903 the S.S. *Gaelic* arrived at Honolulu Harbor—having left Chemulpo (Inch'on) on 22 December 1902—with 102 immigrants.

In April 1905 the same emperor banned further emigration because of mistreatment of 900 Korean laborers on Mexican hemp plantations, but by the end of December 1905, a total of 7,394 Koreans had arrived in Hawai'i, of whom 465 or 6.3 percent were children under the age of fourteen. The ratio of ten males to every female among the Korean immigrants was, of course, exceptionally high, as a consequence of the planters' concern to obtain as many field workers as possible.

The presence, however, even of a few women and children among the predominantly male population made possible the establishment of a core of traditional Korean families in the new land. This may have been the consequence of recruiting having taken place in Christian churches in Korea with encouragement and support from American missionaries there. Widespread famine, together with mounting political pressures from Japan after the Sino- and Russo-Japanese wars culminating in the 1910 Japanese annexation, led more adventuresome and desperate Koreans to consider emigration as a solution to chaotic conditions. For those already converted to the Christian faith, the one foreign land offering the greatest promise was America, especially Hawai'i.

According to official figures, Korean immigrant aliens admitted between 1901 and 1923 totalled 8,321, of whom the great majority (7,843) arrived in less than three years, 1903-1905. Men outnumbered women in a ratio of ten to one, and they consisted chiefly of unmarried workers from port cities and larger towns, but included soldiers, government clerks, students, policemen, miners, woodcutters, household servants, and a few Buddhist monks. There were isolated cases of three-generation families hoping to settle permanently.

Among the very much smaller number of Koreans arriving between 1910 and 1924—when the Oriental

Exclusion Act took effect—there was a higher proportion of women, some of them picture brides, who helped correct the abnormally high disproportion of single men. These young women, between eighteen and twenty-four, were chiefly from the southern province of Kyongsang, while the grooms were mostly from the north. Initial tensions resulting from the differences, however, were soon overshadowed by the problems of raising a family, and much credit is due these determined women for their perseverance and resilience.

While becoming acclimated to their new environment, Koreans showed their propensity for organizing. According to traditional patterns, they began with the *dong-hoe* or village council for self-government. Numerous other groups came into being—*Chin-mok* (Forward Prosperity), *Cha-gang* (Self-Strengthening), *Kong-jin* (Mutual Progress), and *Sil-chi* (Practical). There is record of a meeting in Honolulu in September 1907 where representatives of twenty-four organizations formed the *Hapsong Hyophoe*, or United Federation. Soon thereafter, forty-seven branches were organized on all major islands with membership of over one thousand paying annual dues of $2.25. In February 1909 this federation and the Mutual Cooperation Federation merged to become the Korean National Association, which still functions. The Dongji-hoi, or Comrade Society, established in 1921 is still a major organization.

The *kye*, a mutual aid society involving the pooling of monthly membership fees—with the total going each month to the highest bidder—played a major role in financing education, passage money for picture brides, and quick capital for small business.

In addition, Christian groups met in individual camps, and local churches were formed, with instruction in the Korean language, history, and culture as an added function. At least as early as 4 July 1903 the first church service was held at Mokulē'ia, O'ahu, and on 30 April 1905 the first Korean church building was dedicated at 'Ewa plantation. Existing churches all had their beginnings in this early period: Korean Episcopal St. Luke's Church on 10 February 1905; Christ United Methodist Church (Korean Methodist) on 9 July 1905; Korean Christian Church (Sillip-kyohoe, or New Church) on 29 July 1908.

For several decades before and after annexation of Korea by Japan, Island Koreans took seriously, and

enthusiastically, a role in resisting Japanese rule. Nationalism became the dominant spiritual force following the 1 March 1919 declaration of independence uprising in their homeland. For the *Ildae* (first generation), with both religious and nationalistic ideals merging, liberating the native land took first priority. Their hard-earned *p'ittam* (blood-sweat) money went to finance the independence movement. In October 1919 it was reported that 2,907 individuals had contributed $34,034.05. Syngman Rhee, first President of the Republic of Korea and a long-time Island resident, acknowledged a debt to Koreans in Hawai'i in his message to participants in the golden jubilee celebration in 1953 of the advent of the first immigrants to Hawai'i: "Their nationalistic feeling was eloquently expressed in their sustained efforts for political, social, religious and educational activities among themselves. In fact, their strivings for the restoration of Korea's national sovereignty were truly the greatest of all the Korean communities overseas." In commemoration the Korean government established the Inha Institute of Technology (Inch'on-Hawai'i) at Inch'on. From Hawai'i $150,000 was contributed, derived from the sale of the Korean Christian Institute, successor to the Korean Girls' Seminary founded by Rhee in 1913.

One scholar has written: "As free representatives of a captive people, (Hawai'i) Koreans had a cause which commanded allegiance even beyond that of their relatives who lived in Korea . . . The Koreans in Hawai'i generated a nationalist sentiment out of all proportion to their numbers in their new land. Apart from immediate economic needs, Korean independence was the one critical and dominant issue for the whole community and, through the years, Korean energies were invested into this cause, unfortunately to the detriment of some other aspects of Korean cultural life. The people's energies were not only sapped by their involvement in the nationalist activities themselves, but by the continual factional struggles that developed within the community from the attempts of various groups to control the direction of the nationalist movement" [Gardner 1970].

Special mention needs to be made concerning the small group of Korean-born older (over age fourteen) children accompanying their parents during the earliest migration—and there were also those who accompanied older men, claiming family relationship, uncles, usually. To these go the credit of bridging the gap between the parents and their Hawai'i-born siblings. They were in a better position to take

advantage of the best of Western culture, particularly education.

The traditional values of the Korean family system include filial piety, regard for formal learning, and the subservience of women. But in Hawai'i that last virtue took a sharp turn. Those courageous and determined immigrant women were braced to face the challenges of a new land—which seemed quite inconsistent with the tradition in which a wife remained an outsider in her husband's home, not even meriting his surname. In a country in which the full name was required—the husband's name heretofore denied her—she acquired new dignity and strength. In Hawai'i Korean wives took the major role in keeping the family intact, insisting on education of the young, and participating in activity in the larger community.

The Korean Women's Association was organized in 1913, led by Whang Maria who had arrived as immigrant head of household in 1905. Its purposes were: "to promote Korean language education, to refuse things made by the Japanese, to assist other social organizations, and to help Koreans in need."

Koreans in Hawai'i have always placed top priority on education of their children, whose school attendance and performance have both been among the very highest of all ethnic groups in the Islands. Largely because of their concern for and achievement in education, Koreans have excelled occupationally and economically. In a study based on U.S. census data in 1950, the last date for which such information is available, Koreans were represented well in excess of numerical proportion in professional, managerial, proprietary, sales, skilled and some of the semi-skilled occupations, but they were notably underrepresented as laborers. Koreans had made great strides as architects, chemists, pharmacists, social workers, and physicians and nurses. They had also excelled as insurance and real estate agents, as tailors and dry cleaning operators. Economic success is perhaps best reflected by the 1970 census indicating that the median annual income among Korean males the previous year was roughly $2,000 greater than that among the entire male population of Hawai'i. Among the various ethnic groups, it was exceeded only by that of the Chinese.[1]

* * * *

Thus the anomaly suggested at the outset, of the Koreans in Hawai'i losing their separate identity

because of their exceptionally high rate of outmarriage, turns out to be more apparent than real. Partly as a result of the small number of Koreans in the Islands, their survival as individuals has encouraged and required an ability to communicate and deal effectively with the multi-cultural peoples living all about them. Assimilation, in terms of participating and sharing in the common economic and social activities of the Island community, was literally forced on the Koreans, but this necessity has been accepted in good grace and with poise. Moreover, Korean experience in Hawai'i during nearly eighty years has demonstrated that biological fusion need not entail the loss of cultural and psychic identity. The presence in 1980 of institutions for the preservation of artistic, mutual assistance, religious, and even nationalistic interests among the Koreans not only enhance the zest of living among their members, but they help to enrich the cultural capital of the entire Island community.

NOTE

1. The very large number of immigrants (11,239) arriving in Hawai'i from Korea during the ten years (1970-1979) resulted in many having to accept employment of relatively lower status and compensation. As a consequence, the median family income of Koreans had by 1977 dropped below that of Japanese and Chinese families, but for the entire Korean community, it was still distinctly above that of the total population of Hawai'i.

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FILIPINO EXPERIENCE IN HAWAI'I

Bienvenido D. Junasa

The collective experience of Filipinos in Hawai'i is a story of struggle often misunderstood. It began at the turn of the century when Hawai'i was on her way to becoming a world sugar producer but was faced with the dwindling supply of cheap labor. Very few Chinese contract workers had stayed on plantations, the Japanese were beginning to leave, and legal barriers, such as the Chinese Exclusion Acts and the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, prevented recruiting more of either group. At such a moment the very new territory of Hawai'i looked to another recent U.S. possession, the Philippines.

The Philippine revolution against Spain was virtually won when U.S. expansionist tendencies led to intervention. Spanish officials, reluctant to surrender to Filipino forces, capitulated instead to the U.S. in the Treaty of Paris, 10 December 1898. Seeking a labor supply free from external control, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) found the Philippines an expedient source. Filipinos, then, were U.S. nationals who could move freely and their entry to the Islands would be scrutinized only by fellow Americans serving the respective territorial governments of Hawai'i and the Philippines. Thus, in 1906, the importation of Filipino laborers began.

The Host Society

The plantations of Hawai'i, especially during their early history, have been likened to a political kingdom where the manager exercised both economic and political control over the laborers and their families.[1] Immigrant labor was viewed chiefly as an economic commodity and the planters were little concerned with the adjustment that each immigrant group would have to make in the process of being uprooted from their culture and adjusting to living with other ethnic groups. In fact, it was the planters' belief that the best way to control their workers was in a community of segregated ethnic camps, so that the physical distances between them would prevent a united opposition of labor to managment in a strike for higher wages or improved living conditions.

This was the environment that confronted the first wave of Filipino immigrants when they arrived in Hawai'i. During its early history the plantation industry was a rigid socio-economic system that was characterized by class as well as racial stratification, with a small elite of *haole* planters and businessmen at the top who controlled the industry on which so many of the social institutions of Hawai'i were built, and it was supported at the bottom by the thousands of immigrant laborers whose toil produced the wealth of Hawai'i.

The Early Filipinos

Between 1906 and 1946 (when the Philippines achieved independence) the HSPA recruited 126,000 Filipinos to work in the plantations. The recruitment was primarily among the physically strong and less educated members of the working class. Planter experience with workers of other ethnic groups had shaped a recruitment policy which placed a premium on the less literate whose potential to conform seemed greater. To ensure that only hard-working men were admitted, the HSPA instituted a "rough hand" inspection and selected only young able-bodied men with thick, calloused hands. The 1916 Report of the U.S. Department of Labor Statistics confirmed the prevailing conception among plantation managers that the Filipino laborers had only economic value and that they were viewed primarily as instruments of production.[2]

At first, Filipino laborers were brought to Hawai'i with no provisions for their return to their homeland. But in 1915, due to increasing protest, the HSPA worked out a system of individual contract under which the terms of employment were specifically provided. The contract provided each recruit with free passage to Hawai'i, housing and other perquisites, and free return passage upon completion of at least three years of good work. Almost all intended going back at the end of their contract. In 1926, the transportation payment for coming to Hawai'i was discontinued. Apparently the HSPA believed that the tales of the good life in Hawai'i were sufficient inducement to prospective laborers.

As the last of the ethnic groups to be recruited for plantation labor, Filipinos continued over the longest period to be assigned to the most difficult and least desirable tasks—planting, weeding, cultivating, cutting, hauling, loading, and fluming, and at corresponding low pay. Whereas members of other

ethnic groups imported earlier might have been advanced to supervisory positions, Filipinos were commonly kept at the level of the lowest skill and economic returns. Actually, the plantation had evolved a system of occupational stratification and differential pay based not on personal qualifications but on racial background.

There were three major linguistic groupings among the early Filipinos brought to Hawai'i. The *Tagalogs*, as the first group to be recruited, came from the vicinity of Manila and neighboring Central Luzon provinces. Because of their wider contacts with the western world, they became a people of diverse occupations with urban sophistication and therefore made them less adaptable to Hawaiian plantation life. Many soon left the plantations to live in Honolulu and other cities on the mainland.

The second linguistic group came from the Visayas and the northern provinces of Mindanao. The *Visayans* were known to be devout Roman Catholics and Spanish customs and ceremonies had been extensively incorporated into their culture. They were hard-working but were thought to have a romantic outlook which viewed life to be enjoyed to the fullest. This attitude was said to have created problems after paydays because many would take off and spend their money freely, perhaps to escape from the drudgery of daily plantation life.

The *Ilokanos* were the last but largest linguistic group brought to the Islands. They came from the northern part of Luzon known as the Ilocos provinces where natural resources are less abundant and earning a livelihood is difficult. Consequently Ilokanos generally are more hard-working and thrifty, compared to their Tagalog and Visayan counterparts. They also seem more temperamental and prone to violence and have sometimes been described as the "Irish" of the Philippines.

Demographic Information

Among early Filipinos, the male to female ratio was unusually abnormal. In 1920 the ratio among adults (twenty-one years old and over) was 685 males to every 100 females, and by 1930 the ratio had increased to 975 men to every 100 women. Even as late as 1950, there were 628 men to every 100 women among the foreign-born Filipinos in Hawai'i. As a consequence of the abnormal male-female ratio, family life as it was known in the Philippines was almost impossible. It was not uncommon

for women to change husbands frequently, and this naturally made family life unstable and served to undermine the whole of the traditional social structure of the Filipinos. In the Philippines the family or clan has a very decisive influence on one's personal status and social mobility.

Because of severe immigration restrictions imposed by the U.S. under legislation first enacted in 1921, the relatively few Filipinos who came to Hawai'i between 1947 and 1965 were generally better educated, adaptable, and sophisticated. They gained confidence quite rapidly, compared to the earlier immigrants, and commonly wished to become permanent members of the community. Many possessed a skill or had professional training which enabled them to adapt more rapidly. Generally, their children were not ashamed to admit their ancestry and were proud of their ethnic heritage. The 1970 U.S. census listed a total of 95,680 persons of Filipino ancestry living in Hawai'i or 12.5 percent of the total population.

Under the greatly liberalized provisions of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, nearly 50,000 Filipinos were admitted to Hawai'i as permanent residents between 1966 and 1980. They came chiefly as close relatives of citizens or resident alien Filipinos already in Hawai'i. Their most striking characteristic, compared to earlier arrivals, is the large number of young children. This is a sharp contrast to the situation in the early labor immigration. Of the 126,000 brought by HSPA between 1909 and 1946, only 5.5 percent were children, 7.5 percent were women, and the great majority (87 percent) were men. The latest immigrants were more normally distributed as to age and sex, and children, women, and older persons came as a family unit. For instance, of the 1976 immigrants 29.1 percent were youngsters nineteen years old and under, 64.2 percent were twenty to fifty-nine years old and 6.7 percent were sixty years old and older. Females constitute about 55 percent of the population.

The 1970 U.S. census revealed that Filipino families in Hawai'i have substantially larger households than Filipinos in other states of the Union. This seems to indicate that the lifestyle of Filipinos in Hawai'i is closer to the home country where a sizable number of children is considered an asset, and newly arrived relatives from the Philippines are encouraged to live with the host family.

Problems of Adjustment

Each wave of immigrants brought its own peculiar difficulties in adjusting to American society. In fact, the Filipinos, being the last to arrive, are still the most disadvantaged among major immigrant groups in the Islands. Because the first group was recruited primarily for plantation work, the selection process took place almost wholly among manual workers, the less educated, and those most physically fit. Such a selection process had the inevitable effect of denying immigrant Filipinos the type of leadership and control to which they were accustomed in the homeland. In the Philippines, such responsibilities were vested chiefly among community elders, and their absence in Hawai'i was a serious loss to youthful immigrants, especially in their wider community relationships.

Equally serious was the lack of assertiveness among Filipinos and the propensity of admiring anything but Filipino. For 400 years, Filipinos were made to believe that their native culture was of no merit and that they should reject anything Filipino. Both Spanish and American colonial administrators had implanted among Filipinos the feeling of inferiority and such mentality inhibits active participation in community affairs.

Filipino children born in Hawai'i of immigrant parents had somewhat different problems of adjustment, including some which will persist into the next generation. By 1950 there were already 27,000 Filipinos of American birth in Hawai'i, but most were still children. As they came of school age, they faced the peculiar problems of reconciling the expectations of their immigrant parents and neighbors with those of their Hawai'i-born contemporaries. At school and in the wider community they were accorded the dubious reputation of their lowly, poorly paid parents, and the poor economic status compelled children, particularly boys, to seek employment as early as possible, rather than additional education as a means of advancement.

Because of the highly abnormal population distribution and the resultant instability of family conditions, moral controls common in the homeland could not be effectively transmitted to Hawai'i-born Filipinos. Neither were the many Filipino organizations very successful in providing Filipino youth with models and community support. The elders' preoccupation with fiestas, *terno* balls, and other festive celebrations,

while having value in keeping certain aspects of Filipino culture alive, tended to dissipate limited resources and impede attention to matters of more serious concern.

Another obstacle which Filipinos born in Hawai'i still encounter is the inheritance of exaggerated stereotypes which grew up around early immigrants as uncultured, improvident, hot-tempered and oversexed. Such undeserved characterization had the effect for quite some time of discouraging young people of other ethnic groups from associating with Filipinos on a free and open basis. Filipino students have sometimes been discouraged by teachers from taking academic courses essential to college admission. It was common knowledge that the tracking system had been applied to certain groups of students. Unfortunately, many public school teachers have assumed that Filipino students are too quiet and passive to be successful in any profession that involves articulation and verbal skills. The tragedy is that a great many Filipino students had their dreams and aspirations crushed as early as in elementary school; and their relatively low enrollment in institutions of higher learning has reinforced the unwarranted opinion that Filipinos are inferior in mentality and hence incapable of occupations and associations of an intellectual nature. The inability of teachers to respond sensitively to Filipino schoolchildren caught in the conflict of cultures has contributed greatly to such failures.

Related to this problem is the difficulty in affirming one's ethnic identity. In the Philippines, identity is usually based on one's role in the family, neighborhood or community and not on his difference from another racial group. But this was not the case when Filipinos came to Hawai'i. Their individuality or character as a person has lost its visibility because of the externally imposed stereotypes and mass identification foisted upon the early Filipinos.

This began on the plantations where workers were categorized and treated according to racial extraction. And this form of unjust identity has continued off the plantations as well. Local born youngsters have suffered the most as a consequence of this distorted picture of the Filipinos in Hawai'i. In their desire to escape from this predicament, they begin to identify themselves as Filipino-Spanish, or Filipino-Chinese, or Filipino-Hawaiian, and seldom simply as Filipino. It is a matter of record that many children of other immigrant groups changed their names, or the spelling and pronunciation in order to gain acceptability in American society.

The emergence of a common identity and pride of ancestry is a new experience for most Filipinos in Hawai'i. In the process, they will certainly undergo some measure of conflict and misunderstanding.

Cultural Propensities

Many Filipino cultural values are congruent to some degree with western culture; however, some traditional values and practices conflict with those of the dominant society and need considerable understanding. Unlike local residents, Filipinos avoid direct personal confrontation. They regard interpersonal relations as vital, and would rather employ a third party to resolve a potentially explosive situation. In American society, this inclination tends to complicate rather than resolve interpersonal problems.

Related to this social value is the Filipinos' inability to handle open conflict in American style. Americans are accustomed to speaking their minds and can engage in loud or angry argument without affecting their friendship. To a Filipino, coming from a culture that seeks to sidestep or divert conflict whenever possible, such behavior in handling differences is unbecoming. In the acculturation process, Filipinos need to recognize that they are in America and to understand that open conflict is part of American life and that one is expected to speak up for his point of view, and that an argument doesn't mean an end of a friendship.

Filipinos regard family ties as the most important of all human relationships. In Philippine society, the social status of a person is derived from family standing, achievement and wealth. Success is seen in terms of family enterprise rather than individual efforts. To be a good member one has to be subservient to the family. Generally, children remain submissive even to the point of giving up personal ambitions, including marriage, if they run against the wishes of their parents. This peculiar Filipino trait somehow stifles individual initiative and makes the person less responsible for his action.

Filipino childrearing patterns encourage the individual to be reciprocally dependent on kinship groups. This value of building one's kinship alliance has been harnessed very well among Filipinos in Hawai'i. This is evident in the way Filipinos are able to purchase homes by pooling the savings of family members and kinsmen for a down payment or by

banding together to qualify for a mortgage loan. The strength of this alliance system is also evident in times of death or in festive celebrations for wedding or baptismal parties. Here again, individual achievement and assertiveness are sacrificed in behalf of harmony and security for the group.

As a subject people for more than 400 years, Filipinos developed a fatalistic philosophy of utter submission to those of superior station and to supernatural powers. Generally, they do not regard obstacles to be overcome but rather to be adjusted to, believing that they have very little or no control of their own destiny. They perceived that some problems can be resolved merely by allowing the passing of time and the operation of a power beyond their own.

Impact on the Community

Quantitatively the contribution of Filipinos to the economic well-being of Hawai'i has been greatest at the level of labor during the first seventy years of their residence. During more than fifty of these years, Filipinos made up well over half the workers on sugar and pineapple plantations of Hawai'i. Throughout the entire period their proportion of employed persons classified by the U.S. census as laborers was the highest of any of the major ethnic groups in the Islands. Filipinos have carried the major burden of labor in stevedoring, construction, hotel operation, and the tourist industry. The so-called service occupations—attendants in hospitals, waiters in restaurants, janitors and watchmen—have drawn heavily on immigrant Filipinos for the many menial tasks essential to the corporate life of the community.

Although so much of the weight of labor has been on the shoulders of Filipinos brought to Hawai'i between 1906 and 1946, not all chose to remain at that level. As early as 1930, according to the census, 10 percent of Filipino immigrants had found occupations other than as laborers, chiefly in skilled and semi-skilled fields as fishermen, carpenters, longshoremen, barbers and tailors. A significant minority established themselves as salesmen and in retail trade, and a smaller number as musicians and ministers.

In less than a generation, nearly half of the employed Filipino men (47.5 percent) were engaged in occupations other than as laborers. By 1950 they had moved especially into more remunerative occupations

as operatives and craftsmen, but as their numbers were strengthened by well-educated and experienced members of the newer immigration and the Hawai'i-born generation, Filipinos were able to enter business management and the professions to a limited degree.

Prior to the 1970 census, Hawai'i Filipinos had become sufficiently adjusted to local economic expectations to have largely graduated out of the category of unskilled labor, leaving less than 28 percent of the employed men still so classified. The largest number of Filipino men (42.5 percent) was in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, but a respectable proportion (4.6 percent) was in professional pursuits, considering the legal and other obstacles which trained personnel among recent immigrants had to overcome. The relatively few business enterprises in which Filipinos have gained firm foothold are construction, entertainment, real estate, tourism and travel, landscaping and food distribution. The number of firms owned and operated by Filipinos has remained relatively small. Their impact on the economy has been as hard-working, conscientious workers, both as consumers and as contributors to the capital savings of the community.

The educational contributions of Filipinos have been relatively late in appearing, owing to exclusive selection of immigrants for purposes of unskilled labor until after the war. Although early immigrants had a relatively high regard for education on arrival in Hawai'i, their low economic status discouraged advanced schooling for their children. Concern for family welfare led to employment for children as early as possible, and less than half those of high school age were actually sent to school throughout the period of World War II. Since the war, Filipino appreciation of education as a channel of individual and family advancement has greatly increased the proportion of their children completing high school. As late as 1970, somewhat less than a quarter of the Filipino residents of college age were so enrolled (24.8 percent of the men and 23.5 percent of the women).

Despite this delayed use of education, Filipinos in increasing number are making contributions in medicine, nursing, education, law, engineering, social services, the military, insurance, accounting and related occupations. Increased contributions are anticipated as legal restrictions on professional training received in the Philippines by recent immigrants are modified or removed.

Filipino movement into the mainstream of Island and American society has begun to focus especially on government and politics. Filipino leaders generally agreed that education and politics offer the greatest prospects. In 1980 there were already one state senator, four state representatives, one county mayor, three council members, one supreme court justice, two state and city cabinet members, one school district superintendent, a handful of teachers and school principals, and other government employees in management positions. Although these achievements seem impressive against their plantation background, many Filipinos have felt that their political representation should more nearly accord with their number and talents in the community.

The sharp contrast in conditions for Filipinos between the first and fourth quarters of the twentieth century affords perhaps the most reliable index of their probable future. They came first as a miscellaneous collection, primarily of single men, recruited to perform strenuous work with the goal of returning after a few years with sufficient earnings to spend their remaining years in the more congenial atmosphere of the native barrio. Within the seventy years of its existence, this chance gathering of men —drawn from widely different communities because of their physical abilities and common economic motivation—has become largely transformed into a community of Filipino Americans to whom Hawai'i is home. The Filipino population of Hawai'i in 1970 consisted predominantly (65 percent) of American citizens, with a youthful median age of 24.1 years, and a reasonably normal ratio of 131 males to every 100 females. The new waves of immigrants since 1946 have come expecting to remain permanently in America and to become U.S. citizens. They have begun to think of themselves less as Tagalogs, Visayans, or Ilokanos, and more as Filipinos. The fact that immigrants and native-born citizens alike sought and have been able to participate in the life of the wider community offers the best promise of their future.

NOTES

1. Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 210-215.

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THE SAMOANS OF HAWAI'I

Fay C. Alailima

No one knows how many Samoans live in Hawai'i because most came from or through American Samoa, an unincorporated territory of the U.S. whose nationals are free to come to the U.S. without visas. Since the census does not record Samoan ethnicity, and local surveys usually include them as "other," only educated guesses are possible. These vary from 8,000 to 18,000 Samoans, all but a few of whom have settled on O'ahu, where they form less than 2 percent of the population.

Like everyone else, Samoans live wherever they can find reasonable housing, but there are a few areas of concentration. About 4,000 live in the Lā'ie-Hau'ula area, drawn by the Mormon Church and employment at the Polynesian Cultural Center. Even more live in Kalihi-Palama because of cheap public housing and proximity to employment. Another concentration is along the Wai'anae coast, where the life style is a little more like home.

Contact between Samoans and Hawaiians has continued longer than most people realize. They visited each other as sailors and stowaways well before 1850. Samoans recall a Hawaiian named "Manoa" who visited Samoa between 1830 and 1840. He married in Pago Pago and fathered a child whose great-grandson lives in Hawai'i today. Later, this same man moved to Apia, where he raised a second family from which another current Hawai'i resident claims descent. It is clear from which island in Hawai'i Manoa came, for he is still referred to in Samoa as the "Oahū" and some Samoans have laid claims to a *kuleana* in Mānoa valley, arguing their genealogical connection to him.

Samoans have come to Hawai'i for many different reasons. In the early 1920s, several Samoan dance troupes toured the U.S., then settled in Hawai'i. Two groups of twenty-five to thirty Samoans were sent by navy administrators to serve prison terms in Honolulu and most later settled here afterwards, as respected citizens. In 1923 five Samoan families were brought to Lā'ie to work for the Mormon Church. Many children and grandchildren of this group still

live in that area. In 1930, one-quarter of Lā'ie residents were Samoan. A small group of Samoan immigrants settled in downtown Honolulu before World War II and were later joined by several enterprising stowaways who are now prominent members of the Samoan community. By 1930 there was a Samoan civic association of fifty members. But all told there were probably less than two hundred Samoans on O'ahu before World War II, most of them from fairly acculturated families with some knowledge of the world. They intermarried and blended into the local population.

By 1950 the Samoan population was 463, but soon thereafter the ripple of immigration suddenly became a wave. The wartime navy administration in American Samoa had developed national guard, navy, and marine units there. In 1950 the last navy governor sent 117 Samoan servicemen to Hawai'i to finish their time toward military retirement. They arrived with 257 dependents. These men were later allowed to send for remaining dependents, and in 1951 the *President Jackson* arrived with 958 Samoans aboard. Of these, 369 were dependents who came passage-free and with no need to prove support. The rest paid $30 each. This was Samoa's biggest wave but it left behind 1,074 more who had expressed a desire to emigrate. While some of the newcomers joined relatives in Lā'ie, most settled in Hālawa Naval Housing, Kalihi, and the Wai'anae coast. Many in this migration were from rural villages with little exposure to the outside world, and this, together with their numbers and the increasingly rapid urbanization of O'ahu, made them a more noticeable lump in the mixing process. A year after arrival, 511 were still living in Hawai'i. The rest had entered military service, gone to the Mainland, or returned home.

With the end of navy administration in Samoa, emigration to Hawai'i slowed for a time. There were no planes and few ships. But in the early 1960s, with construction of an international airport at Safune, larger federal subsidies, and the "fly now, pay later" plan, Samoans started taking off again. At first, only a travel permit was required between the Samoas, and Western Samoans could travel as freely as their American brothers. But by 1962 passports were required between the two jurisdictions, and Western Samoans were restricted to a quota. Their American relatives, however, continued to shuttle freely between Hawai'i, California, and Samoa at the rate of about 100 a month. Often they arrived with no clear

decision ahead as to whether they were visiting, finishing school, retiring, or settling permanently. Theirs has been called an "oscillating migration pattern."

What lures Samoans to Hawai'i? Today, as always, curiosity, adventure, employment, and education.

Almost any Samoan immigrant will admit life in America is no bed of roses, probably because the two cultures are so different. Samoans feel most secure in extended family groups, which do not fit easily into either American houses or economic patterns. Samoans often take extended family and church obligations more seriously than they do career advancement or accumulation of capital which commonly define "success" in America. First-generation immigrants, particularly, still feel a strong pride in their culture and a responsibility for land, titles, and relatives at home. Over $1 million is returned to American Samoa each year in the form of remittances from relatives in the U.S., and this constitutes one of the largest sources of American Samoa's income.

Samoans bring many of their customs with them. A few *matai* (chiefs) have been installed here; many others have gone back to Samoa to accept titles, and returned here to enjoy their status. Whenever possible, church dedications, births, weddings, and funerals are still celebrated with gifts of fine mats and generous feasts. These provide large groups of relatives an opportunity to meet each other and improve their feeling of mutual security. Kinship connections are still highly prized despite scattered living quarters.

Except in Lā'ie and a few Samoan churches, however, it is difficult to find the traditional sense of community within which Samoan families used to provide mutual assistance and social controls. Many new immigrants would feel more secure if they were allowed to live in communities of their own, but this has been difficult because of U.S. desegregation policies, the prohibitive price of land, and the decline of the plantation-village pattern of earlier days.

Samoans have made use of other institutions, however, to bring families together. The most important gathering places for first-generation migrants has certainly been Samoan churches. These made possible the development of indigenous leaders, mutual support arrangements, and the large celebrations through which Samoans renew their cultural identity.

The largest and most independent Samoan church has been the LMS (London Missionary Society), assisted by, but not incorporated into, the American United Church of Christ. Under the leadership of the Reverend Pita Malae, who arrived with the Fita Fita immigrants in 1950, there are now twelve Samoan-speaking LMS congregations, many of which have purchased their own church property and buildings. One of these, the Samoan Church Village of Nānākuli, bought land and homes for its members. They lived together as a Samoan community until 1978 when they were dispersed by zoning regulations. The leading LMS church at Moanalua has 900 members, three choirs, and an annual donation of over $38,000. Many Samoans feel that the LMS pattern has helped in stabilizing families and in perpetuating language, identity, and customs because children are involved in Samoan-speaking activities run by their own parents. LMS congregations do not tend to merge with English-speaking congregations since, after one generation, they own and control their own buildings.

The second largest Samoan church is the Latter-day Saints with its extensive religious, educational, and cultural organizations at Lā'ie. Its members are divided into stakes (geographic divisions), each of which puts on a Samoan service once a month. On other Sundays Samoans meet with English-speaking Mormons, and their tithes go into the general treasury. While the Hawai'i Mormon Church has no ordained Samoan clergy, one of the largest stakes has elected a Samoan as its chief administrative officer.

Many Samoans worship in the Catholic Church. They attend English-speaking masses, but have organized a Samoan Catholic Association of about 500 members.

The Hawaiian Methodist Church has five Samoan-speaking congregations under the leadership of an American-trained and ordained Samoan minister. The other four Samoan congregations are led by lay pastors. Samoan Methodist congregations meet in American Methodist churches rather than purchasing their own land and buildings. They are given some financial assistance as a mission of the United Methodist Church, but meet for Samoan-speaking services on Sunday in their host church. They have their own choirs, which usually represent them at joint services with the host congregation once a month. If they follow the pattern of former Japanese and Filipino Methodist congregations, they will probably merge into the host congregation within one generation as their children become fluent in English and forget Samoan.

Island Samoans have also attempted to perpetuate their ethnic image through a long series of rising factions and waning civic organizations. The first of these was the Samoan Civic Organization which was active from the 1930s to the 1950s when the Samoan population was still small enough to know each other by name. Most Samoans who became prominent in the wider community at that time came up through this organization.

In the 1960s the best-known organizations were the United Samoan Community Association, in the downtown area, and the Royal Samoans in Lā'ie. Both promoted celebrations, assisted with immigration problems, and solicited scholarships for young people. The latter is still active.

In the early 1970s, as a result of a Governor's conference on immigration, a permanent State immigration office was opened, one of whose staff members was a Samoan. About the same time, with encouragement from the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, Samoans founded the Samoan Cultural Heritage Council. This body has organized presentations for the annual Hawaiian Jubilee, helped develop a Samoan radio program and a marching band, and worked with the University of Hawai'i College of Continuing Education and Community Service to sponsor a conference for community agencies on the problems of immigrant Samoans.

About the same time, two organizations of more tradition-minded chiefs emerged. One was the Council of Samoan Chiefs and Orators in Honolulu. For a number of years it has entertained important chiefly guests from Samoa and organized an annual American Samoan Flag Day celebration. The other is the Royal Council of Chiefs composed of *matai* in the Lā'ie area.

Still more recent organizations have been the Samoan Action Movement of America (SAMOA) which has promoted closer relations with government departments, especially the police, and the Sons and Daughters of Samoa which has organized sports groups and leagues among the young people. Because of their unique problems, Western Samoans organized a special association of their own in 1980.

Many Samoan families came to Hawai'i to educate their children, feeling there was some kind of power in Western knowledge which would enlighten and elevate their families. They are justly proud of their

graduates, and framed certificates are common on Samoan walls. All too often, however, neither the child nor his American teacher is prepared for the differences between a culture which rewards obedience and one which rewards creative individuality in its young. Considerable confusion often results as a Samoan child seeks to find behavioral limits in a multi-cultural classroom from a teacher who abhors the traditional strap and encourages free expression. Then as the child adapts to a more permissive educational environment repercussions necessarily occur at home. Immigrant parents often feel that they are losing control of the children they brought here to educate--and in a society with more temptations and fewer watchful eyes. Finally, if they attempt to re-establish authority in the traditional manner, they risk citation for "child abuse."

It is a tribute to Samoan youth, American teachers, and especially peers that second-generation Samoans now leaving high school usually have fluent control of spoken (if not always of written) English, and are wiser in the ways of their new society than of the old. The thoroughness of acculturation in Hawai'i's schools often means loss of Samoan identity, however. Samoans raised in Hawai'i often feel uncomfortable trying to communicate with their grandparents or visiting their traditional families in Samoa. Songs and dances may remain with them, but it is doubtful they will remit as much of their earnings to relatives in the homeland as their parents did. They see other uses for money. It is doubtful, also, if they will respond as readily as their parents to the control of chiefs and pastors.

Several educational programs have been directed particularly at new immigrant adults. The Kalihi-Palama Education Center developed and tested a special curriculum for teaching English to Samoan adults through practical skills, like auto mechanics and sewing. Palama Settlement and Susannah Wesley Community Center have both had bilingual workers and programs from time to time, and in 1975 an immigrant center was opened in Kalihi with a bilingual staff to link Samoan as well as other immigrants more effectively to local community services. In 1979 the Department of Education hired sixteen Samoan bilingual-bicultural teaching assistances, provided special classes for "limited English speakers" (LES), and developed several bilingual readers.

In a rapidly urbanizing society with increasingly strong Caucasian and Oriental components, Samoans have

helped Hawaiians with the difficult task of keeping the Polynesian way of life alive. Samoans have contributed their talents vigorously to Polynesian entertainment. They demonstrate their crafts, dances, and foods at the Polynesian Cultural Center where one Samoan has taught the dances of all island groups for many years. Samoans are the knife- and slap-dancers in most Waikīkī shows and form a good proportion of the drummers and dancers. Samoans have organized widely appreciated dance bands, performing not only in Hawai'i but overseas in New York, London, and Tokyo. Even more significant locally are the dozens of Samoan "combos," often composed of relatives and friends, which perform for weddings, church and school dances, and simply for their own pleasure. Samoan songs have been introduced into almost every record store, and Samoan choirs are in great demand at churches. Enthusiasm for Polynesian song and dance is readily transmitted to the second generation.

Sports is another area in which Samoans excel. Nearly every high school football team has Samoans playing on the first string, and a number of players have continued their careers on Mainland university and professional teams.

In the world of work, some Samoans have organized businesses of their own, including several tree-trimming companies, gas stations, two bakeries, and a sewing establishment. Most, however, work for public or private employers. Some are with the Honolulu Police Department, and others busy at O'ahu car washes, laundries, and at security guard stations.

Polynesian arts and crafts have also been kept alive by immigrants. Samoan beads, mats, baskets, fans, and *tapa* can be found widely, and the popularity of Mata'uma's paintings and frescoes proves Samoans can make their way even in the world of the fine arts.

In Hawai'i, Samoan orators have begun to find a new outlet for their traditional skills. Two Samoan language programs which claim an audience of half the Samoans on the island appear weekly on local televisions and radios. A Samoan-English newspaper serves communities in both Hawai'i and California.

The employment picture for Samoans is not altogether bright. Like immigrants from other rural, tradition-bound areas, Samoans commonly lack industrial skills and commercial traditions. Capital is

difficult to accumulate among a people whose culture encourages large church and kinship contributions. As a result, a high proportion of working immigrants has to take unskilled or semi-skilled jobs where pay is lower and characterized by irregular employment. This, coupled with large families, has resulted in Samoans composing 7.3 percent of the O'ahu welfare roll in 1973, compared to their less than 1.0 percent in the population. Unemployment among Samoans was over twice that of the general population in 1974.

Many first-generation Samoans talk of retiring in Samoa, but, though they visit home frequently, few actually stay. Their children are even less inclined to do so. It seems likely, therefore, that Samoans will continue to form part of Hawai'i's multi-ethnic community. Like Hawaiians, they show no particular resistance to "marrying out" of their own ethnic group, so it seems probable that before long they will be part of the "local mix" whose total repertoire of songs, dances, sports, and vocabulary will be enriched, even though the bearers may forget their unique language and customs.

If current unemployment, high-cost housing, expensive air fare, and welfare restrictions continue, there may well be no more large migration from Samoa. And if American Samoa maintains its rapid progress toward an Americanized life style, the immigrant of the future may face far less of a cultural adjustment.

On the other hand, new forces are abroad. Some second-generation Samoans, like some young Hawaiians, are beginning to feel that a precious heritage is being lost in the heat of the melting pot. They may study their culture and their past with more conscious concern than their grandparents did. Study alone never kept a culture alive, of course. Samoan culture could remain viable if American society enabled Samoans to live together in extended families and communities of their own where they could use their language, recognize their chiefs, and observe their traditional celebrations and cultural values. But would Samoan young people be willing to pay the price of maintaining these?

THE BLACKS

Randolph L. Chambliss

Blacks comprise a very small minority of the population—on the order of 1 percent, perhaps less. This comes to less than 10,000 persons. It is hard to get a reading because Islanders when they identify themselves racially, tend to emphasize composite racial makeup—that is, they refer to themselves as Hawaiian-Caucasian-Filipino, Indian-Spanish-Negro, etc.

There were enough Blacks around in the early nineteenth century to occasion the coinage of a Hawaiian term—*haole 'ele'ele*, black foreigners. The first missionary company got a warm welcome from Anthony Allen, a Black farmer originally from Schenectady, N.Y., who had arrived in 1810. He had a Hawaiian wife and two children. The missionaries reported a sumptuous feast provided from his vegetable farm in the Pāwa'a district. In the missionary party of 1823, Betsey Stockton, "born in slavery," accompanied the Stewart Family. Miss Stockton had received an education while associated with the family of the president of Princeton College. She conducted a school for the children of commoners in Lahaina, but returned to the U.S. when Mrs. Stewart's health failed.

Among deserters from vessels engaged in whaling who swelled the foreign population were American Negroes and, notably, Blacks from the Cape Verde Islands, a Portuguese colony. Most of these arrived near mid-century and were widely known before the controlled immigration of white Portuguese laborers for plantation work began in 1878. The result was that the latter became known to Hawaiians as "the white Portuguese." The Blacks married Hawaiian women and their children disappeared into that racial body by the time of the annexation census.

After annexation, several federal officials posted to the Islands were Blacks, many of them to become firmly rooted here. The daughter of the collector of customs became a public school principal and served for many years on Kaua'i.

A number of the Puerto Ricans arriving as plantation labor in 1900 and subsequently were of mixed blood—white Spanish, black African, and a certain

amount of American Indian. Probably a large percentage could have been counted as Black, but they were listed as a separate national group in 1910 and subsequent censuses up to 1950, sometimes as a subcategory of Caucasians. In 1960, 1970, and 1980 they were merged with other racial categories, chiefly Caucasian.

The majority of the Black population is in the military—and many residents tend to identify all Blacks that way. When the military segregated its Blacks before and after World War II, there was a tendency in Hawai'i to follow suit. It is safe to say that the majority of Black residents were formerly connected with the service, enjoyed Hawai'i, and chose to settle here. Many married local women and became identified with the Islands. But the fact that most Blacks here are males, 214.4 to 100 females in 1970, and in the military, creates its own difficulties.

Trinity Missionary Baptist Church, founded by Black servicemen in 1968, has a predominantly Black congregation. Although Pentecostal and other denominations also serve Blacks, Trinity Baptist has the largest congregation and is a member of the Hawaii Council of Churches.

Hawai'i has a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—which has as many white members as it has Blacks but apparently does not appeal to the other non-white minorities, who seem to reject the word *Colored* when applied to them. Groups which feel that they belong to Hawai'i tend, with some recent exceptions particularly among Hawaiians, to feel no need for activist organizations, hoping that problems can be solved by other methods, a fact that seems to underscore Hawai'i's overall multi-racial harmony.

But the fact that there is no particular Black community could be an important reason many Blacks do not wish to make Hawai'i their home. Many Black women cite it as reason for their discontent. And, of course, the high cost of living is an important element , and no particular industry invites Blacks.

Black residents agree the Islands are ahead of Mainland states in the areas of discrimination and race and human relations. They also agree that while the situation is not perfect, it is a great deal better. Two other points need to be emphasized about the Black in Hawai'i. His attitude depends heavily on who he is

and what he does; his philosophy is shaped to an exceptional degree by his personal adjustment or maladjustment, his success or failure, his happiness or unhappiness. He is as yet less likely than most to define his problems. Knowingly or not, he is ambivalent; things are not as good as he would like them to be, but they are good enough to make him tolerate the bad without much articulation.

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THE MIXING PROCESS

Bernhard L. Hormann

The mixing process among Island people of various ethnic backgrounds goes on at several levels. From the beginning of contact with the wider world two centuries ago, mixing has occurred on the biological level of sexual relations and the birth of mixed children. This somewhat casual miscegenation was, of course, between native women of the land and men from the outside. Today available statistics indicate the proportion of persons in the total population who are mixed is above 25 percent, while the proportion of children born who are mixed is just over half, and larger if one could gauge the number of hidden mixtures.

A second kind of mixing takes place at the level of the way of life, by assimilation to American ways and by cultural interchange of customs, etiquette, ways of celebrating, folkways, mores, and institutions. Traditional patterns of behavior are modified in various directions. While the predominant pattern to which people are assimilating is that of the mass culture of modern, urban America, they have also been developing a common "local" way of life of their own, which might be referred to as the "pidgin culture" of Hawai'i, because pidgin English has been a central component of it.

Finally, a third level brings together people in social relationships which make the social structure of modern Hawai'i. Haoles, Hawaiians of various degrees of mixture, persons of other mixture, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and members of the smaller groups —Puerto Ricans, Koreans, Samoans, and Blacks—occupy positions in government, in the educational, professional, industrial and business, religious, welfare, athletic and other recreational institutions and agencies in the community. In the informal life of neighborhoods, families, and groups of friends, the social relationships among all ethnic groups are becoming inter-connected.

So mixing is at three levels: miscegenation or amalgamation at the biological level, assimilation at the cultural and behavioral level, structural integration at a level having to do with social relationships,

social roles, and social institutions. In Hawai'i biological fusion that began with the first contacts has continued as rapidly as the other two. Assimilation to the ways of the dominant group, it has often been argued by representatives of that group, would lead to participation, or structural integration. But the disillusionment of U.S. Blacks which led to the militant movements of the 1960s has shown that these assumptions had not been realized. The Hawai'i experience, on the other hand, has shown that integration or inter-ethnic social relations and participation may come even before full cultural assimilation to American speech and ways has taken place.

What makes Hawai'i distinctive is that the three kinds of mixing have gone on continuously and more or less simultaneously in an unforced, natural way. Laws did not seem to be needed to encourage the process. Laws did not seem to be needed to encourage the process, although pressures, political and economic, did help to foster more representative slates of party candidates, more representative juries, etc. Now of course such laws, Federal and State, are in effect here.

Biological Mixing

The biological process may appropriately be considered first, not only because it occurred at the beginning of contact but because there are available statistics: the U.S. census, special tabulations of the state Department of Health annual Hawaii Health Surveillance Program (using a racial breakdown different from that of the U.S. census, as given in the *Hawaii Data Book*), annual state Department of Health of Health statistical reports, the *Hawaii Data Book* published annually by the state Department of Health and Economic Development, and occasional special reports issued by these two departments. These statistical data have been analyzed by Hawai'i's sociologists and demographers: Andrew W. Lind, Robert C. Schmitt, Eleanor C. Nordyke, and others. These sources have been drawn on in this article.

The proportion of mixed people in the total population is now about 25 percent, possibly a bit higher. This proportion is certainly increasing. Going back, we find that in 1950 the U.S. census attempted to count the total number of mixed people, its only attempt ever to do so. It found 18.9 percent of the total population to be mixed, 14.8 percent part-Hawaiian and 4.1 percent people of other mixture. Still farther back, in 1930, only 7.3

percent were part-Hawaiian, in 1910 only 6.5 percent. At these pre-World War II dates there were very few mixtures other than part-Hawaiian. The upward trend is obvious.

That the proportion of mixed people will increase is apparent when one notes a similar growth in the number of mixed children born. In 1979 of all children born the race of whose parents was known (15,805 in all), the mixed children came to 51.9 percent, when Portuguese and Puerto Ricans were listed separately. In 1971 the mixtures came to 43.7 percent. For the period 1970 to 1974 Lind found 42.0 percent mixed births, in 1960-1964 32.2 percent, and in 1931-1950 only 31.3 percent. The trend is clearly and cumulatively upward.

Because the parents of mixed babies who are themselves mixed are reported as mixed only if they are part-Hawaiian, otherwise by an unmixed category, an unknown but probably increasing number of mixed births *seem* to be unmixed but are not. These are the hidden mixed births. So the percentage of mixed births is actually higher than indicated.

Mixed children come from mixed marriages. In 1973 40.6 percent of all marriages were interethnic. For a few years in the late 1960s it appeared the out-marriage rate was down, to as low as 33.7 percent in 1969—from a high of 38.1 percent three years earlier. The drop was brought about, however, not by a reassertion of ethnic identity, as some believed, but by a great decline in the Caucasian out-marriage rate due to the many "R&R" marriages between men on leave from Vietnam and their fiancées from the Mainland. These racial in-marriages, although registered in Hawai'i, did not involve Hawai'i residents.

This unusual situation no longer exists, but a new one has been added. Filipino, Chinese, and Korean immigrants have been coming in. This is seen by the fact that the high out-marriage rates for these groups has become stabilized and for Chinese grooms and Korean grooms and brides even declined. This may also account for the fact that from the overall high of 40.6 percent in 1973 the annual subsequent rates of out-marriage have been 40.1 percent (1974), 39.5 percent (1975), 38.8 percent (1976), 37.5 percent (1977), 37.9 percent (1978), and 38.1 percent (1979).

Lind, following Romanzo Adams in putting years together in groups, reports the following percentages of interracial marriages: 1912-16, 11.5 percent; 1930-40, 22.8 percent; 1950-59, 32.8 percent; and 1975-77, 39.1 percent. Clearly the long-run trend has been upward.

The larger groups tend to be more conservative in regard to out-marriages, since their young people have a wider range of choice within the group and because such groups are able to maintain ethnic cohesion, both culturally and biologically, longer than small groups. Therefore a look at the larger groups should confirm the overall trend. For the Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese, the trend is clear, but it is not determinable for the Hawaiians, because of their close involvement with the part-Hawaiians. With the high proportion of white military in the population it is understandable that the Caucasian figures are also problematical, but using Lind's tables summarizing the 1931-50 and the 1970-74 periods it is clear that the proportion of pure Caucasian children born continues unchanged to be over 60 percent of all births to Caucasian parents.

But the trend is clear when one inspects the data provided by Lind. The Japanese, the largest established "local" group, with the reputation of being the Islands' culturally most conservative and least out-marrying group. In the five-year period, 1970-1974, the total births to Japanese parents came to 15,847, of whom 43.8 percent were mixed, that is, not Japanese on both sides. In the period 1931-1950 there were only 12 percent mixed children born. So the mixed percentage has risen dramatically from 12 to 43.8. Further, it must be emphasized again that, particularly in the most recent period, an unknown proportion of the "pure" Japanese parents already is mixed. Perhaps the Japanese mixed births already come to half of all children born to Japanese.

The mixed Filipino children born in the 1931-1959 period came to 38.3 percent. That is now up to 45.3 percent in the last five-year period, 1970-1974. The mixed children born to Chinese parents are up from 42.7 percent in the first twenty-year period to 68.4 percent in the last period. Thus in these major groups, the Japanese and Filipinos are approaching the half-way point in proportion of mixed births; the Chinese are well beyond it. Out-marriages, too, have increased markedly for these three groups, as Lind demonstrates. In the decade 1931-1940 less than

10 percent of Japanese brides and grooms married non-Japanese. In the period 1970-1977, 39.4 percent of the brides married "out" and 32.1 percent of the Japanese grooms did. The Chinese brides and grooms were marrying out at 28 percent in 1931-1940, but are now marrying out between 61 and 69 percent. In the 1931-1940 decade, 37.5 percent of Filipino grooms married out, but only 4 percent of the brides—a reflection of their proportionately small number. In the 1970-1977 period, just 47.2 percent of the grooms and 51.1 percent of the brides married out, just about half of each.

Since most Hawaiians already are mixed, they do not lend themselves to this kind of inspection. We know that virtually all children born to Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian parents are mixed. In the six years 1969-1974, only 79 marriages were registered in which both bride and groom were identified as Hawaiian, not part-Hawaiian. In those same six years, only 126 presumably pure Hawaiian children were born both of whose parents were Hawaiians.

Of all mixed children born since 1931, two-thirds or more were part-Hawaiians; the others were other-than-Hawaiian local ethnic mixtures. Similarly, in the quarter of the population which today is mixed, the part-Hawaiians constitute about two-thirds and the non-Hawaiian mixtures the other third. It appears, however, that the non-Hawaiian mixtures are gaining.

New immigrants continuously add to the ethnic complexity of Hawai'i, particularly since the new immigration act of 1965. In the ten years until 1974, some 52,000 immigrants entered the Islands from abroad, of whom 30,000, or more than half, were from the Philippines, many others from Hong Kong and Korea. This does not include an unrecorded number of Samoans who, as nationals of the U.S., are not separately counted as they enter Hawai'i. There were several thousand of them. Most recently, Vietnamese and Laotian refugees, preceded by Vietnamese war brides, have been added. These immigrants will, if they stay, eventually be drawn into the mixing process.

Assimilation

Assimilation or acquisition of the common culture of the U.S. goes on in Hawai'i as in the rest of the nation, although immigrants here are differently derived from those on the Mainland. The schools, the

mass media, political and economic ties with, and fads and fashions from, the U.S. Mainland—all are strong influences in the direction of assimilation. Travel, educational objectives, and occupational opportunities tie the people of Hawai'i ever more closely to the nation as a whole. Second- and third-generation persons of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino ancestry now probably have more of these ties with the U.S. Mainland than with their ancestral countries in Asia. A large number of persons from Hawai'i ethnic groups have gone to the Mainland. The 1970 census even found 28,804 persons on the Mainland who identified themselves as Hawaiian, between a third and a half as many as the 71,375 who so identified themselves in Hawai'i. Their influence on their relatives here, especially when they return, would most probably be in the direction of assimilation to American mainstream ways. Such influences reduce local peculiarities of speech and custom which, without these contacts, would have led Island people to develop their own distinctive, insular culture, with its own provincial dialect of English. Instead these various influences foster assimilation to the mainstream of the American way of life.

Thus while Hawai'i is not developing a separate distinctive culture of its own, cultural assimilation is nevertheless a continuing part of the mixing process as Islanders exchange their own traditions in a kind of "inter-similation" instead of "as-similation" —that is, becoming like one another in a mutual interchange, rather than becoming like the target and dominant people among whom immigrant groups have gone to live, in a one-way process. This is simply a Hawai'i variant of the national process among European immigrant nationalities, which has made Americans culturally different from the English.

Cultural mixing takes place both at the very "local" level of working class residents among whom the pidgin culture has been developing, and at the level of the mainstream of national and international life, among intellectuals and those associated with higher education, the professions, science, and the performing and graphic arts. At both levels, people are at the same time cosmopolitan and provincial.

First, the local level. Pidgin English had its beginnings in trading activities on the Honolulu waterfront and in the artisans' shops and merchants' stores of early Chinatown; between the lunas, or foremen, and the foreign contract laborers on sugar plantations; among neighbors of different ethnic

backgrounds; among children at play. When hardly anyone on the plantations, except the bosses and teachers, knew Standard English, the only way for Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos to communicate was through the "business," that is, "pidgin," English, which had been brought from the trading frontier in Canton-Hong Kong-Macao, and which soon developed its own special Hawaiian style. Laborers on plantations received orders in pidgin—and words from Hawaiian, such as *ukupau*, for pay according to piece work, and from Japanese, such as *bango*, for a laborer's work number, became common.

Children developed their own versions of cops-and-robbers and tag which they called "chase-master." Filipino cock fights were shared with men of other nationalities. Baseball, softball, football, basketball were accepted by all. A kind of pidgin recreation grew up. Men courted women in pidgin and raised their children speaking it, and so formed a pidgin family style. Women exchanged foods and recipes across the side hedge and served pidgin meals of Hawaiian poi, Chinese sausages—*laapcheung*—or the Chinese meat-filled rolls, *charsiubaau*—which somehow acquired a Hawaiian name, manapua or *mea-ono-pua'a*—and Portuguese sausage, bean soup, and sweet bread. Japanese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese folk beliefs and practices were exchanged—to be used to court good luck, ward off evil, cope with illness, a mixing of folk beliefs into a sort of "pidgin" religion. In plantation camps and in towns, in urban slums and ghettos, on ranches and among independent farmers, there gradually evolved a very cosmopolitan way of life. It formed at first haltingly, being retarded in ethnic enclaves, and by the assertions of nationalism of immigrant leaders. It was impeded by a variety of interethnic misunderstandings and tensions. But it achieved a mutual tolerance which helped break through ethnic barriers among these working-class people.

The cosmopolitan aspect of this very local and working-class assimilation has been emphasized because it has not been fully appreciated by the elite and by persons from the Mainland. It is much easier to note the provincialism among people following this "local way," their antagonism to people from the outside and to "local haoles," their resistance to learning the prevalent idiom of the country, and the like.

The horizons of those coming in, the future elite, from the beginning usually extended beyond the Islands. They were cosmopolitan people in their interests and

could feel at home in other big cities. Their interests gave them a perspective which was continental, even world-wide—extending to industrial agriculture for world markets, and eventually to music, art, drama, literature, architecture, the sciences, the professions, political and world affairs, the fashions of Paris and New York, the stock market. But they, too, had their insularity. They tended to become socially inbred, often unaware of and insensitive to the needs of obscure local people of all the ethnic groups that made up the bulk of the population.

In spite of the provincialisms, there is interaction between people of the elite and those emerging out of their local ethnic and pidgin roots. The stuff from the pidgin culture, particularly food and language, has pervaded the whole society. The speech has been used creatively. Young people have learned to tell fairy tales, like "The Three Bears," artistically, to write plays and present Shakespeare in the local dialect. Students at our more exclusive schools tell stories in pidgin to the delight of their friends and with consummate artistry. Hilo Hattie, Joe Hadley, and now Andy Bumatai have recorded in pidgin. In the entertainment world such efforts attract Hawai'i's people from all circles, as well as tourists.

At the same time this very process of extending the local culture throughout the society has stimulated wider interest in the high culture of the Great Society. In the 1920s, for instance, were seen the beginnings of an East-West mixing process, paralleling that among the ethnic groups but at the more sophisticated level of urban and world civilization. Students put on plays in the Chinese and Japanese styles—Chinese opera and Japanese *kabuki*—and today the University of Hawai'i is in the forefront of a movement to make Asian drama available to Western audiences. At a series of conferences, philosophers from all over the world considered "Philosophies: East-West." The music of the various heritages is being studied and creativity brought together by competent ethno-musicologists and practicing composers. The architecture of Hawai'i, domestic and institutional, shows the influence of China and Japan, New England, Europe. It is contemporary international and tropical open-air Hawaiian. In these ways Hawai'i actively participates in development of a world civilization.

Integration

The third dimension of the mixing process involves social relations and social organizations. Are people

segregated or do they mix in neighborhoods, business, industrial, and professional organizations, in labor unions, in political parties, governmental organization, schools, churches, community organizations, organized sports and informal recreational activity, underworld life and organized crime, and in the more informal relations among friends and within families? What do people, looked at ethnically, do apart, and what together? How integrated are the social life and the social structure of Hawai'i? People may be culturally assimilated, behave essentially alike—in their conversation, their family life, their political voting —and yet *live* apart and in separate worlds.

In Hawai'i, people live apart, yet they mingle; they participate in organized, informal, ethnically separate activities, yet they associate together. Mixed activities seem to be gaining on those which are separate. When Romanzo Adams was doing his pioneer sociological research in the 1920s and 1930s, he found this mixing taking place in the public sector, but not so much in the private. Today it occurs in both. In politics and government the mixing in the early part of this century was between Hawaiians and Haoles. But gradually persons of Asian ancestry, whose immigrant parents were at that time still ineligible for naturalization as U.S. citizens, began to vote and run for office. The first Chinese were elected in 1919. In 1975, Hawai'i's U.S. senators were a Republican of Chinese ancestry and a Democrat of Japanese ancestry. The two congressmen were both Democrats, one a Japanese man, the other a Japanese woman married to a Haole. The governor and lieutenant governor were both Japanese and both Democrats. The four county mayors were two Haoles and one of Japanese ancestry and one of Filipino ancestry. One of those Haoles was of Italian ancestry, originally from the U.S. East Coast, and married to a woman of Japanese ancestry; the other Haole was a "local boy" of Portuguese ancestry. The Filipino was the first of his ethnic group to hold such office. The chief justice of the State supreme court was Hawaiian-Caucasian-Chinese. His four colleagues were two Japanese, one Filipino, and one Haole.

In political and other aspects of community life the significance of "first times" can be seen. There was a first time when a Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino was elected to public office, or a judge of a given ancestry appointed. Each first time is dramatic. Yet eventually, as second and third times occur, the unprecedented becomes simply a fact of life. The first

person of Japanese ancestry to become a school principal was appointed in the mid-1920s. The first superintendent of education of Japanese ancestry took office in 1967. His three immediate successors were all Japanese, and there were remarks about a Japanese "establishment" in the Department of Education. Then, in 1976, the Board of Education—with a majority of Japanese members—surprised the community by once more appointing a Haole. Japanese dominate public schools because (1) they are the largest of the Oriental groups, and (2) since well before World War II, Oriental families made sacrifices to give their children higher education, with strong emphasis upon careers in teaching, one of the most honorable in their tradition.

The high percentage of Japanese now in elective office has disturbed some people—usually non-Japanese, who regard it as a sort of Japanese takeover, but also those Japanese sensitive to such feelings on the part of the other-than-Japanese. However, this too must be seen in perspective: early in the century, Hawaiians were most numerous in public office, though not in top appointive positions, which were held by Haoles. Later, the Haoles also dominated the legislature.

In business life, integration is not as far advanced. Among major firms—the Big Five, major utilities, the four oldest and largest banks and trust companies, and other large firms like the Dillingham corporation and plantation companies—none has as yet had an Oriental chief executive. But at least two in the last decade have had part-Hawaiian heads, and Orientals are now found among vice presidents and directors of these corporations.

From the 1930s to the 1950s, integration gradually advanced among groups of professional associates, particularly lawyers and physicians. One notable firm of lawyers in the 1930s brought together a Chinese, a Japanese, and a Korean whose firm name indicated this three-way mix. It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that two prominent firms of physicians took in non-Haole partners, both part-Hawaiian and Oriental. By that time, however, participation of non-Haoles in formerly all-Haole medical firms was so natural that no public comment was made. The former Japanese Hospital was, before World War II, exactly what the name implied—the medical, nursing, and administrative staffs, as well as the patients, were all Japanese. During the war the name was changed to Kuakini Hospital, and today

it is quite inter-ethnic, although Japanese still predominate.

First-generation immigrants lived in ethnic villages or camps on sugar plantations because both they and management preferred it that way. But when in the 1940s the interracial and by then powerful ILWU brought about abolition of the union-detested perquisite system and substantial increases in wages, companies were forced into mechanization and supplanted the old camps with larger central towns where workers could own homes. In these towns ethnic integration replaced segregation. Residential segregation was never complete in Honolulu except for small ethnic "camps" in the working-class area and in certain exclusive all-Haole areas. But socially prominent part-Hawaiians could live in the exclusive areas. Today there are still sections where one ethnic group or another is somewhat concentrated. Residential areas close to military bases may have more than 90 percent concentration of Caucasians. The exclusive Haole sections in Honolulu have slowly become integrated. Central Manoa valley, for example, was "silk stocking," upper-middle to upper-class Haole with a sprinkling of part-Hawaiians in the 1920s. Now it is very mixed. There are sections in which 60 to 70 percent is Japanese, but the proportion is declining as new apartment buildings in these sections attract all ethnic groups. Neighborly intimacy gives way to impersonality. To illustrate the process at the other urban-rural extreme, a relatively isolated Hawaiian fishing village on the South Kona coast now has many resident Filipinos.

Certain exclusive clubs—a business and professional men's club, a golf club, and an athletic club at the beach—excluded Orientals from membership. The rationale was: "They have their clubs for their own people. Why can't we do the same?" However the policy increasingly became an embarrassment to members who had close associations with persons of the excluded groups and who felt the injustice of keeping prominent persons in the excluded groups from becoming part of the mainstream—for this is what membership in these clubs actually means. In 1968 the first of these clubs for the first time admitted a few Oriental members, beginning the inevitable breakdown of exclusion. Ethnic origin today has less and less to do with the selection process, though it is not yet totally irrelevant.

The Mixing Process in Individuals

The whole mixing process is reflected in individuals who are caught up in it, mixed and unmixed. They feel

increasing identity with the community, rather than with any ethnic group, regardless of whether they were born in Hawai'i, have lived here long, or whether they simply acquire understanding and appreciation of Island people, even after a short residence. Such an attitude incorporates an identity as an American, but goes beyond it. Most of these people could make an easy transition to life on the Mainland, but there would always be an abiding longing for "the loveliest fleet of islands anchored in any ocean," to use Mark Twain's words.

These young people also recognize the way Hawai'i's loveliness is constantly marred by the exploitation, crime, corruption, and pollution which exist in Hawai'i, as elsewhere.

This sense of identity brings together the mixed and the unmixed. A young man who is a fourth-generation Chinese writes:

> I am different from other Americans. I feel different because I am young, and because I am an Oriental. But more. I feel different not only from those Americans who are not Oriental. I seek my past, then, somewhat like Blacks who look not only to Africa but to Harlem, in Hawaii. That Hawaiian past is not so easy to define as my Oriental past. For as my family grew into Hawaiian culture, Hawaii became more and more like the rest of America. It is hard to separate the good America from the bad America. It is hard to differentiate what is peculiar to this one state from the others. Yet I feel a revulsion for that other America which wished to change me into nothing, and a love for the Hawaii which allowed me to become something special.

A fifth-generation Haole contrasts the first four generations of his family in their relationships to Japanese, upon whom they were dependent as servants, with his own:

> For the first four [generations] the Japanese were a vital part of a way of life, while for the fifth generation the Japanese represent a new way of life of modern Hawaii. I myself feel well-assimilated into this way of life and find it both challenging and rewarding.

One of the two first recipients of a new undergraduate prize essay contest in sociology quoted one of his young Japanese interviewees in this way:

> I don't see myself as Japanese. I have an island identity. I come from Hawaii, not from a foreign country, and not from an ethnic group.

Another "expressed the feeling that he was more comfortable thinking of himself and the things he does as 'local,' as a part of Hawaii, rather than 'Sansei,' as a part of being Japanese."

The first mixed persons—when only two strains, at most three were involved—attempted to keep the strains somewhat separate. As a Chinese-Hawaiian-Haole person put it some thirty years ago, "When it is to my advantage to be Hawaiian, I stress that part of my ancestry. At other times it is an advantage to be Chinese, or Haole." Today, mixed persons seem to share what their fellows of pure descent have expressed, except that in their case the local-ness or neo-Hawaiianness is even more natural.

The three kinds of mixing—biological, cultural, and social—have occurred together in Hawai'i. Biological fusion began the process, and today is as far advanced as the other two. For a time the curious situation in Hawai'i was that social mixing was ahead of cultural assimilation, at least in its sense of acquiring the dominant culture of the whole country in as complete a way as, for instance, Orientals on the Mainland. The people of Hawai'i had enough inter-participation in the mainstream of life in the Islands that they felt a part of the whole, including the whole United States. This was well shown by the response of Island nisei in World War II.

Hawai'i is participating in the national tendency to champion ethnicity, the movement which began with the civil rights and Black Power movements and spread to other minorities—Puerto Rican, Mexican Americans, Chinese, Japanese, even to European minorities. In the Islands an ethnic studies program at the University has received militant support and organizations in various ethnic communities assert "their" importance. Some, like Elizabeth Wittermans-Pino expect such revivals to gain in strength. Their point of view, their interpretations, their statistical analyses should serve to check those presented in this article.

It is problematical how much farther these ethnic movements in Hawai'i will develop. The mixing process is too far advanced, particularly in a population consisting solely of minorities, for the militancy to be easily maintained, despite its value in relieving feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

We can expect all three kinds of mixing to continue here. The ethnic (or racial) factor will be

with us for a long time, for Hawai'i cannot be insulated from the racialism mounting elsewhere in the world. But individuals here will continue to join a multitude of other-than-ethnic groups—and in them become kaleidoscopically mixed. These groups—religious, political, interest, neighborhood, athletic, recreational—are as much a part of the pluralistic society of Hawai'i and the United States as are ethnic groups.

So we have a mixed people, a mixed culture, a mixed society—well-launched and far along toward an integrated community—and yet, still in process.

RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS: AN OVERVIEW

Andrew W. Lind

Race and ethnic relations—these two ideas, linked as a single theme, run through the entire narrative of Hawai'i's history from Captain Cook to the present. Virtually every level of human experience—biological, economic, political, religious, and moral—has been significantly influenced by the circumstance of Hawai'i having drawn its residents from widely separated and culturally diverse regions of the world. Throughout the past two centuries it has always been possible to classify Island people into broad categories on the basis of what have commonly been presumed to be ineradicable ancestral hallmarks, and a varying tendency to take into account of such groupings has been reflected in almost every conceivable aspect of Hawai'i history.

The Meaning of Race in Hawai'i

The term "race," however, has meant something distinctly different in Hawai'i than in most of the world, including Continental U.S. In Hawai'i people are identified with a certain race because they or their ancestors came from a specific region, sharing, it is true, a somewhat distinctive physical appearance, but differentiated from other groups chiefly by peculiar cultural traits—speech, dress, food habits, or religion. In most of the world people are identified racially, exclusively on the basis of a supposedly common biological heritage, as manifested in their skin color or other readily recognizable physical traits.

The interpretation given race in Hawai'i explains to a considerable degree the way the concept has functioned in Island life. Instead of constituting a stable, biologically unalterable grouping, as it has so widely in the modern world, race is conceived and defined in Hawai'i by criteria chiefly social and cultural in nature which can therefore appear and be widely recognized, or in some cases can also disappear within a single generation. Consequently barriers and distances separating racial groups in Hawai'i have shifted markedly from time to time and from place to place.

The one most prevalent function of race, viz., of setting limits within which human understanding and fellow feeling may prevail and outside of which people are conceived with suspicion as strangers, has exercised a much less rigid and divisive role in Hawai'i than in most other parts of the world. The common tendency of differentiating among persons outside one's own social group on the basis of generalized or stereotyped descriptions has been no less evident in these islands than elsewhere. However, the criteria used in making such distinctions in Hawai'i have only been partially physiological in nature—genetically determined—but have been socially defined and subject to shifting circumstance.

Especially noticeable in Hawai'i is the relatively minor significance attached to skin color, either as a device of distinguishing among groups or as a reflection of deeper psychological differences among them. This is partly because such a large proportion of the population—nearly half in 1975—had either emigrated from Asia or are descendants of such emigrants. Therefore, the contrast in skin color is not sufficient to make easy distinctions among groups—like the Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos—distinctions which are made more readily with other physiological and cultural criteria. For the most part, a sort of "color blindness" has prevailed, a tacit recognition that skin color is, by definition, only skin deep and cannot reveal, much less determine, such significant traits as intelligence, personality, or character.

On some occasions arrival of immigrants with strikingly different physical appearance and modes of conduct has led to temporary characterization by their most obvious hallmark and the corresponding attribution of their behavior to that superficial trait of color. It occurred to noticeable degree in the case of Blacks during and after World War II, but the considerable pigmentation in the skin of most Islanders —either inherited or acquired from living in Hawai'i —results in a gradual lessening use of such a classificatory device. The Hawai'i experience confirms what is so commonly forgotten elsewhere—that skin color, like all other systems for classifying people, is a human construct and has no inherent significance except as people endow it with meaning.

Early Racial Contacts[1]

Thus in Hawai'i the number of recognized races and the importance attached to them have varied greatly from time to time according to circumstances. Immediately following discovery by the Western world, Islanders needed to distinguish only between themselves, the *kama'āina*, or children of the land, and the very few outsiders or non-Hawaiians conveniently described as *malihini*, meaning stranger. These two terms remain in common use, but a person's classification as one rather than the other has not been on the basis of an unchangeable biological inheritance. The *malihini* might in time and with proper behavior become a *kama'āina*.

The fact that most foreigners in that period were explorers, traders, or sailors from Europe or North America resulted in the not-surprising tendency by natives to characterize the outsiders by their relatively common skin color—they were *haole* (white). Though the term continues to be widely used, it has acquired several contrasting shades of meaning as circumstances have changed.

The geographic isolation of Hawai'i in the central Pacific was a critical factor in its late discovery by land-hungry powers of the West. But the tremendous distances also figured prominently in setting the pattern of race relations by discouraging outside powers from seizing political control and subjecting natives to the subordinate status which characterized so much of colonial history elsewhere. Granting that other forms of exploitation could and did occur from the very beginning, nevertheless the native ruling class retained sovereignty for more than a century, and foreigners were compelled to respect native law and rights, a phenomenon rare to colonialism. Thus a pattern of tolerance, if not always of understanding, crossed the cultural gulf between *kama'āina* and *malihini* from the outset, and the mutual advantages of such a relationship led to its firm grounding during the next century.

The fact that initial contacts occurred on an inherently equalitarian level of trade also played an important role in establishing a "live and let live" type of cross-cultural association, which has been dominant down to the present. Captain Cook's journal of his very first contact with the natives tells of the exchange of fish, pigs, and sweet potatoes for a few nails and bits of iron, and thus set the stage

for continuing interaction on an essentially impersonal but presumably mutually acceptable basis. Lacking the military support of a conquering colonial power, subsequent foreign visitors were unable to utilize that means, so common elsewhere, to exploit the natives.

Despite occasional incidents of misunderstanding and even of violence between natives and foreigners, such as the slaying of Captain Cook by the Hawaiians or the Olowalu massacre of indigenes by an American trader, both *malihini* and *kama'aina* could appreciate the advantages of harmonious working relations. Hawaiians were greatly impressed by the superiority of certain artifacts and technical skills which Westerners could provide, and the Westerners, in turn, were dependent upon the good will of the natives for satisfaction of many of their basic needs—including that of feminine companionship and care.

Although in theory neither natives nor foreigners enjoyed any legal or political superiority over the other in their barter, the Hawaiians were obviously handicapped by far less experience with or appreciation of Western material values. Early acceptance by Hawaiian royalty of the system of private land titles and free alienation, resulting in the Great Māhele, or land division, in 1847 was clearly in response to pressure from foreigners, who apparently argued convincingly that the change would redound to mutual benefit. Unfortunately, however, this opened the way for widespread alienation of Hawaiian lands, much of it before the natives acquired any real sense of the intrinsic value of what they might lose in the transaction. Paradoxically, extensive alienation of lands was sanctioned by indigenous rulers much earlier and with fewer safeguards of native interests than were provided in many colonial areas under regulations imposed by foreigners.

The Plantation as Race-maker[2]

Rapid expansion of plantation agriculture, following opening of an American market for Hawai'i sugar in the second half of the nineteenth century, brought another series of distinctive features to the racial scene. The plantation's function as a profit-seeking agricultural enterprise is obvious. Equally critical, but not so readily recognized, is its role in the political realm as a form of "military agriculture," in regions where suitable land is available but labor for its cultivation is relatively scarce. In providing workers to till the fields and assuring their uninterrupted performance, the plantation in its early stages becomes a semi-independent state, exercising force when necessary.

Planters in Hawai'i, unlike most of their colonial counterparts, could not invoke the authority of a foreign power to compel natives to work under imposed conditions, and plantation inducements were not of a type to attract enough Hawaiians. Instead, workers had to be recruited abroad, to labor under contract. Beginning with Chinese in 1852 and continuing later for nearly a century, plantations brought in varying numbers of Portuguese, South Sea Islanders, Japanese, Germans, Norwegians, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Russians, Spaniards, and Filipinos. Each was imported primarily to provide part of the essential supply of docile, unskilled labor, and, under the segregative system of labor control then in force, each group came to be recognized for a shorter or longer period as a separate and distinctive—but clearly subordinated—race.

Thus rapid expansion of plantation agriculture, notably from 1875 to 1930, was accompanied by introduction of a dozen different "racial" groups, each identified chiefly with the region or country from which its members had been recruited. Because such a high proportion of immigrant workers, roughly 90 percent, came from Asia, none of the traditional hallmarks of race—skin color, facial appearance, and stature—were very effective in distinguishing clearly between groups, since these tended to shade imperceptibly from one group to another. On the other hand, a major concern of plantations was to control and retain the labor force, which had been recruited with difficulty and expense from such great distances, so it was advantageous to perpetuate and emphasize differences in language and culture as long as they were meaningful.

Part of plantation strategy in securing effective control over their workers, was to place them in work crews and segregated communities or "camps," of those with similar ethnic backgrounds. Not only were these immigrant labor groups treated as though they were distinct biological entities, comparable to races in other parts of the world, but they were also kept in clearly subordinated economic and social positions from which there was relatively little opportunity to advance within the plantation system.

Hawai'i plantations were promoted largely by former sea captains who had become enamored of the Islands and by descendants of New England missionaries settled in Hawai'i. That meant that labor discipline was less severe than in other regions where management was by hired stewards answerable only to a remote corporation

concerned with maximum returns for stockholders. But despite the more humane relationship which resident ownership made possible, the basic pattern of race relations on the plantations prior to World War II remained that of a small Haole management at the top separated economically, socially, and culturally from, and in power over, the large mass of workers below, who were also markedly differentiated by language and culture. Class distinctions between management and labor, inherent to some degree in every productive enterprise, assume almost caste-like separation on the early plantation, since assuring continuity of labor and preventing desertions seemed to require virtually military cleavage between officers and men.

Thus, the plantations, in a very real sense, *created* most Hawai'i "races" by first introducing groups of peasants from widely separated and overpopulated areas of the world, providing them employment and livelihood for some years, and thereby endowing them with a distinct racial identity.

Race Relations in an Urban Setting

As long as these immigrant groups remained on plantations, as separate working entities in an essentially subservient condition, reference to them as biologically defined races could seem appropriate. However, as they completed their contracts and moved into the relatively free, competitive atmosphere outside—as most did—some races disappeared for all practical purposes, either by moving away from the Islands entirely or by being absorbed in the impersonal cosmopolitan mass in cities and towns, where opportunities for economic and social advancement were greater. Again and again certain of the smaller groups, like the South Sea Islanders, Spaniards, Norwegians, Mongolians, Russians, and Negroes, once regarded as separate and fixed races, have lost their distinct identity, not necessarily because they left the Islands or died out, but because they merged with the urban masses. This has also been the partial experience of many from the larger immigrant groups—Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Portuguese—as they married spouses of other groups and became increasingly involved in the wider community.

Although the plantation, with its associated pattern of race relations, continued to dominate the economy throughout the first third of the twentieth century, forces affecting contact across racial lines had begun to function well before the close of the nineteenth

century. The first of the two major factors contributing to Hawai'i's unique experience of an early emancipation from the rigid racially-stratified labor controls which plantation economies have commonly imposed much longer was the autonomous political sovereignty, determined by the extreme geographic isolation of these islands.

The introduction of literacy and universal public education by the native government early in the nineteenth century, although initiated and largely promoted by foreign missionaries, was the effective medium for upward mobility, strictly prohibited on most other plantation frontiers.[3] The emergence of a rapidly expanding commercial economy at the port cities on each of Hawai'i's major islands, where plantation workers could find employment and more congenial harborage at the conclusion of their contracts, provided the other major channel of equilitarian access to the material benefits of the economy, which all groups could share. This trend toward equal opportunity across ethnic lines became much more evident after Annexation than in the previous century —although it would be a mistake to attribute this to the shift in political sovereignty.

Prior to World War II, upward movement from unskilled plantation labor went first into semi-skilled occupations and later into skilled trades and managerial positions. All groups were involved to some degree but earlier arrivals moved further up the scale at any given time than those who came later.[4] Island-born children, profiting from education, moved into still more lucrative proprietary and professional vocations, a process which has continued well into the second half of the century.

When upward mobility impinged on the preferred position of established groups, like the Haoles and part-Hawaiians, it engendered some ill-feeling, and in some instances administrative obstacles were created. Except for scattered periods of local or national recession, however, steady expansion of the two urban-centered economies, the military and other federally funded enterprises, and the tourist industry kept overt expressions of rancor generated by racial competition from becoming acute. The prevailing sentiment across racial lines continued for the most part to be one of "live and let live."

Segregation and Race Relations[5]

Immigrant groups helped minimize tensions which might otherwise have resulted from upward mobility through their disposition, common among all peoples in an unfamiliar social setting, of finding neighbors among others of their own cultural heritage. During the early years of settlement in urban centers, segregated living quarters, comparable to those on the plantations, were sought out by the immigrants themselves. In these voluntary ghettos they had the comfort of proximity to those who spoke the same language, held similar moral and cultural values, and helped exercise control over the children. While adults earned a living at their various occupations in the wider cosmopolitan community and children went to schools where Western values were inculcated, the intimate family life was conducted in a familiar setting where life could continue somewhat according to traditional expectations.

It must be noted, however, that the Chinatowns, the Little Tokyos, Filipino camps, or other ethnic communities which emerged in cities and towns, especially during the first third of the twentieth century, were spontaneous creations of residents themselves, and continued to exist only so long as the need persisted. Although such segregated communities were commonly in less desirable and therefore less costly areas, commensurate with what occupants could afford, such a protected environment very substantially eased the cultural transition all immigrants must undergo. Equally significant, and somewhat unique to Hawai'i, was the fact that residents could escape from such voluntary ghettos if they wished and their economic condition would permit. In some instances, the preferred areas of "second settlement" might consist at the outset almost wholly of persons of the same group, but invariably, in Hawai'i, they gradually became cosmopolitan. The somewhat unique Island pattern of race relations is at least partially reflected in this persistent tendency of racial ghettos to lose their character after a few years of usefulness. Thus even Honolulu's diminutive Chinatown, the one and only district of Honolulu to retain permanently such an ethnic name (chiefly because of characteristic shops and businesses), had ceased more than fifty years ago to have as many as 40 percent of its inhabitants of Chinese ancestry. By 1970 Chinese constituted only 20 percent of Chinatown's inhabitants. In much the same way the Japanese, Koreans, Portuguese, and

Puerto Ricans had by 1970 largely moved away from sections once associated exclusively with each of these groups.

Increasingly since World War II, the primary factors affecting residential location of most people in Hawai'i cities and towns have been economic and social class considerations, rather than race. Even Blacks, the ethnic group with the smallest number of residents and one of the most recent to arrive in Hawai'i, were scattered over all but 10 of the 165 census tracts, and in 147, or 89 percent of the tracts, all eight of the enumerated ethnic groups were represented. Under such "de-segregated" circumstances, that problem so frustrating and critical in many American communities —public-school busing—could scarcely exist.

The principal exception to this "de-segregation" occurred among Caucasians arriving since World War II, chiefly under military or tourist auspices. In Waikīkī, almost wholly devoted to tourism, Caucasians constituted as many as 90 percent of the residents, and although thousands of non-Caucasians visit or pass through every day, relatively few reside there. At major military installations near Pearl Harbor, at Schofield, and at Mōkapu, the concentration of Caucasians was equally high, but as a consequence of federally determined policies rather than of Island practice.

Occupational Mobility[6]

Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the trend toward racial equality during the twentieth century is to be found in data on income. Shortly after Annexation the average daily wage of skilled workers of the different racial groups on sugar plantations was only a fraction of that received by Haoles engaged in the same work: Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, 43 percent; Portuguese, 40 percent; Chinese, 29 percent; and Japanese, 25 percent. Such disparities, or even greater, were taken for granted at the time, but even on the plantations, owing largely to increasing labor consciousness emanating from the cities, the distinctions gradually diminished over the next half century. It was especially the growth of urban life—markedly so of Honolulu from less than 40,000 inhabitants in 1900 to nearly 250,000 in 1950—that offered greater equality of opportunity in education, freedom of movement, and upward mobility for all groups.

By the middle of the century the Chinese, whose adult males were almost wholly confined to unskilled

plantation labor eighty years earlier, had largely graduated from that category. Instead, as the most highly urbanized of the immigrant labor groups, they had been able to move into preferred occupations with incomes well above the average of the total population, exceeding even that of Caucasians, regarded in the early 1900s as the economic overlords of Hawai'i. By 1970, according to census returns, at least three racial groups introduced to Hawai'i as plantation laborers—Chinese, Japanese, and Korean civilian families—had advanced so far on the economic ladder as to have attained or even surpassed the level of Caucasian civilian families in median annual income.

Because of their relatively late arrival, Filipinos as a whole had been unable to reach, even by 1970, equal economic status with earlier groups. It is abundantly clear, however, that over the years Filipinos, like all other immigrant groups, have gradually gained access to the more remunerative and socially preferred occupations. Some other minorities, including the Hawaiians, Samoans, and Puerto Ricans, have moved upward in economic status less rapidly than the Japanese, Chinese and Koreans, owing in part to a relative lack of experience or concern with financial success.

As long as racial groups had separate identities, and individuals within these groups were free to act on their own initiative, there was no reason to expect that complete equality of achievement across racial lines could or should occur. It was only when one or another of the groups appeared to experience phenomenal success or failure in some significant pursuit that public attention became focused upon it as a critical issue of race relations. Such crises did occur occasionally during the first half of the twentieth century, and with enough intensity to threaten, and to alter in some degree, the post-plantation trend toward equality.

Crises Affecting Race Relations

Annexation, the first and one of the more critical turning points, was the political accompaniment of the acquisition by Americans and Europeans of control over plantations and other major economic enterprises. It was inevitably interpreted by the great mass of Hawaiians as a serious affront to their collective self-esteem, for which the benefits—such as universal suffrage and citizenship in a world power—could only partially compensate. On the other hand, the special

benefits of several decades of over-proportionate representation in local and national legislative bodies, with consequent preferential appointments and privileges, helped considerably in restoring group pride and good will.

Considerable animosity was generated in the years just after Annexation, especially in Honolulu, among a sizable group of Mainlanders drawn to the Islands in the expectation of a well-paid livelihood in America's newly acquired frontier. Instead, they encountered severe competition from highly industrious and competent Oriental aliens. Quite inevitably, resentment developed. Fortunately this tension subsided as the newcomers either found openings in other fields, frequently in administrative positions, or returned to the Mainland.

A more serious strain on the developing urban tradition of free competition began to appear later in the same decade, growing out of conditions on plantations. A "higher wage" movement, initiated in Honolulu by educated Japanese journalists and businessmen, culminated in the 1909 strike by more than 5,000 Japanese sugar workers on O'ahu plantations. Vigorous criticism of strikers and leaders by the English-langage press and employment of Hawaiians, Portuguese, and Other Caucasians as strike-breakers at very much higher wages seemed, for a few months, to threaten the racial equanimity of the entire community. But public emotion returned to normal when the Japanese went back to work and when some concessions had been made by planters.

Confrontations of equal or greater intensity, involving chiefly Japanese and Filipino plantation and mill workers, occurred in 1920, 1924, 1937, 1946, and 1947, and strikes by longshoremen broke out in 1938 and 1949. Some of these struggles, across or within racial lines, persisted openly for months and resulted, on several occasions, in loss of life and much bitterness. It is impossible to determine the residue of ruptured personal or group relations from such periods of overt conflict, but the wounds did heal and the tradition of tolerance across racial lines did survive.

Throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century there was an almost constant note of urgency in public address and editorial columns by certain prominent Haoles stressing what they conceived to be dangers inherent in the existence of a multi-racial

population unless these diverse elements were assimilated quickly within the American mold. The Japanese —the largest racial block of residents, varying in size from 37 to 43 percent of the total population throughout the entire period—were especially marked for attack for their alleged loyalty to foreign values, as reflected in language schools, Buddhist and Shinto temples and shrines, and a strong disposition toward in-group marriage and family practices. "Americanization," measured by pursuit of public school education and prompt renunciation of non-American customs and traditions, was widely extolled by community leaders and officials. Paradoxically, however, "Americanization"—using the benefits of education and Western initiative to reach preferred occupations and political power—has at times met strong resistance from those whose own established position seemed to be threatened.

Two dramatic incidents during the middle of this period—the Fukunaga case of September 1929 and the Massie episode, extending from September 1931 through May 1932—illustrate how delicately balanced the public attitude of racial toleration actually was and how easily it could be disturbed, and as readily restored. Significantly, both events occurred in Honolulu, with its rapid communication and mass contagion, and both centered upon only a very few individuals.

The Fukunaga case revolved around the bizarre conduct of a *nisei* youth who kidnapped and killed the ten-year-old son of a prominent Haole businessman, presumably in retribution for an injustice done to the perpetrator's family by the trust company which employed the victim's father. News of the crime, the search for the criminal, and his apprehension moved the entire community for nearly a week to a state of intense emotional excitement and distress, which in a mainland setting could easily have precipitated a race riot. Within another two weeks, Fukunaga had been tried for murder and sentenced to die, but the execution was delayed for a year while members of both Japanese and Haole communities sought vainly for a new trial on grounds of insanity. Memories of the harrowing experience still linger in the minds of a few older residents, with a sense among some that a miscarriage of justice occurred, but it is doubtful that serious scars have remained.

The Massie case, just two years later, seemed at the time much more threatening to the Island style of multi-racial living, owing to the widespread and

highly inflammatory publicity it received—especially on the Mainland, but also in Hawai'i from the English-language press. The assault on the wife of a Southern naval officer by local men was enough to arouse still further the chronic military mistrust of Hawai'i civilians. The tension was greatly aggravated when a jury of Islanders failed to accept Mrs. Massie's identification of five local youths as those guilty of her rape, and a mistrial was declared. Persons sympathetic with a Mainland view of race assumed that stronger, vigilante methods were required to bring the guilty to justice. In efforts to bludgeon confessions from the accused, one defendant, of Japanese ancestry, was kidnapped and beaten. On another occasion, one of the Hawaiian defendants was kidnapped, shot, and killed. Soon four Mainland Haoles—Mrs. Massie's husband, her mother, and two navy enlisted men—were on trial for murder, and, although defended by America's foremost trial lawyer, Clarence Darrow, they were convicted. Their sentences, however, were commuted by Governor Lawrence Judd under pressure chiefly from Mainland sources.

The intense excitement subsided soon after the second trial, but there was at least one legacy of prime significance from this sorry episode in the resulting broader and clearer recognition of the difference between Island and Mainland conceptions of race and race relations. The essence of this confrontation over the Massie case was perhaps best stated by Rear Admiral Yates Sterling describing what was objectionable in Hawai'i race relations from his Mainland point of view:

> If these islands were populated, as are the States of our Union, by American citizens, comprised in large measure of the Caucasian race, their allegiance and loyalty to the welfare of the whole nation might not be questioned. But the fact of several claimed unassimilable races predominating in the civil population gives to the situation here a decided element of doubt, if not of actual alarm . . . Present governmental control should be by men primarily of the Caucasian race; . . . by men who are not imbued too deeply with the peculiar atmosphere of the Islands . . . without preconceived ideas of the value and success of the melting pot.[7]

Certainly the majority of *kama'āina* residents of that day, including many if not all Haoles, would have taken strong exception to such an opinion.

The frenzied publicity given to the Massie affair, especially on the American Mainland, and the resulting

investigation of law enforcement in Hawai'i by the Assistant U.S. Attorney General compelled thoughtful Islanders to examine more closely what was distinctive in Hawai'i's conceptions of race and race relations. One of the most incisive analyses of this issue, particularly in the context of expectations by outsiders, appeared in the scholarly address entitled, "The Unorthodox Race Doctrine of Hawaii,"[8] by Romanzo Adams, pioneer sociologist in the Islands. Briefly and too simply stated, Adams' research during the 1920s and early 1930s led to the conclusion that the peculiar historical circumstances of these islands since their discovery by Europeans in 1778 had made it necessary for the invading Westerners to deal with the indigenes with greater respect and consideration than was customary in the encounters between Europeans and natives in other parts of the world. Consequently the newcomers (*malihini*) "desiring to be really a part of [island] society . . . and not a permanent outsider . . . will, early or late, begin to readjust his theories or doctrines" to those of Hawai'i, viz., of racial equality. Certainly Adams gave no support to the mythical conception of Hawai'i as a racial "melting-pot," contrary to its wide popularity among less careful investigators. He did contend, however, that a natural evolution of the various forces brought together in these islands had produced a situation in which the barriers separating peoples of differing racial or ethnic character are less rigidly determined than in other parts of the country. Consequently the opportunities to change positions on the socio-economic scale are correspondingly greater.

Race Relations Under War Conditions

The war in the Pacific (1941-1945) was, of course, the crisis of longest duration and of greatest potential severity, especially since military rule prevailed during most of the period. Considering the convulsions which might have occurred in a war with the ancestral nation of more than one-third of the community's population, surprisingly little damage did occur to associations across racial lines. The 160,000 Japanese in Hawai'i, with certain notable exceptions, were spared the devastating experience of forced evacuation from homes, property, and normal life, and the virtual imprisonoment under trying conditions to which their kinsmen in three western states were subjected. Unquestionably the presence of military officers who had become sufficiently "imbued . . . with the peculiar atmosphere of the

islands" was largely responsible for more humane and effective treatment.

Yet the Japanese were still the major target of suspicion and hostility, in both civilian and military communities, during the war and they suffered the greatest restraints under martial law. It is worth noting, however, that less than 2 percent (1,440) of adult Japanese in Hawai'i were interned or detained under custody throughout the war. Having received opportunities comparable to those of other racial minorities here, the Japanese accepted the restrictions of martial law with good grace and carefully refrained from acts of subversion, however great the sense of Japanese military invulnerability might have been among some of the first generation. The enthusiasm with which the Island-born volunteered for active war duty, their outstanding record of fighting morale and heroism, and the sacrifice of 700 lives in battle testified to the sincerity of their effort to establish without any possibility of doubt their place of honor and equality with all others in an American community.

The introduction of Mainland defense workers and military personnel, in numbers frequently exceeding the entire resident population, inevitably added further strains to the normal problems of race relations. In such a situation there evolved an uneasy balance: the stringency of martial law was in part countered by the Island tradition of hospitality, and Island leaders took a realistic view of potential dangers and exercised particular care to deal with them before they became acute. In the end there was surprisingly effective control. The overt expressions of "bad blood" which did occur were scarcely racial at all, at least in the Island sense, but were rather between insiders and outsiders whose competing interests emerged chiefly from the limited facilities available—especially for the companionship of the opposite sex.

The racial implications of serious disturbances in sugar and pineapple production shortly after the war were not so readily recognizable by the general public, owing to national and local preoccupation with what were presumed to be revolutionary crises. The unionization of labor had taken place so swiftly that Hawai'i, according to the U.S. Department of Labor Report, was transformed between 1945 and 1947 from "one of the least organized areas in the United States . . . [to] one of the most highly organized areas."[9] At the time it was widely assumed that it

must be part of a communist plot. To some degree the movement was revolutionary, establishing without any question the right and ability of labor, united across racial lines, to bargain collectively with employers.

Postwar Relations

Changes in the quality of race relations since World War II have impressed many observers as being more profound than those in the previous 40 years. Outward evidence gives a certain credence to this impression. The simple growth in population—nearly doubling in fewer than 40 years—consisted largely of newcomers from the American mainland and from foreign lands, most of them unfamiliar, and doubtless skeptical, of the Island doctrine of racial equality.

Statehood in 1959 was thought likely to open Hawai'i to a host of foreign influences, of which the Mainland practices of racial segregation and subordination seemed certain to be a part. The phenomenal influx of visitors—between two and four millions annually in recent years—and the corresponding shift of the economic base from agriculture to tourism gave the fear some logical grounds. The movement in and out of the Islands of such a multitude of outsiders—far exceeding annually the total population of residents—has precipitated changes in the climate of race relations much more serious than the elevation from territorial political status to that of a state.

For the *kama'āina* resident, the agitation and testimony in favor of statehood had such a long history that the ultimate victory over Mainland opposition was chiefly an occasion for jubilation and relief. Such opposition as there had been among Islanders came chiefly from Hawaiians and Haoles who viewed statehood as a further potential threat to the special benefits they had previously enjoyed.

Postwar interest in politics, particularly among the Island-born of Oriental ancestry, resulted in the election, just after statehood, of the first American of Chinese ancestry to the U.S. Senate and the first American of Japanese ancestry to the U.S. House of Representatives. Election, just a few years later, of four persons of Oriental ancestry to fill all Hawai'i seats in the U.S. Congress—one senator of Chinese parentage, the second senator of Japanese ancestry, and the two representatives of Japanese background—caused fear that the Islands had become "Orientalized" politically. This fear—largely on

the Mainland but also among newcomers in Hawai'i—seemed substantiated when the governorship went to another Islander of Japanese ancestry and nearly half of the elected members of the legislature were also Japanese Americans.

Some local observers, and visiting journalists in particular, have assumed, on wholly untested grounds, that over-representation of any racial group in elective office or in preferred appointive positions must proceed from racial-bloc voting or of "racist" bias in some other form. In a political forum consisting of as many diverse economic and cultural groupings as in Hawai'i, it would be quite abnormal if candidates did not seek support wherever it could be found, including voters of their own race. But to campaign openly as an avowed champion of one's own race would be an act of political suicide, and no one seeking office of any significance could be elected solely by voters of his or her racial antecedents, even if they did vote en bloc. Experienced politicians would hope to draw support from their own racial group, but they would also know that some of their most bitter opposition might come from the in-group.

Tensions Following Statehood

No serious confrontations between newcomers and resident Islanders, which was even remotely interracial in character, occurred in Hawai'i as long as the proportion of visitors remained small. Once the annual flow of tourists began in 1967 to exceed in numbers the resident population, the possibilities of tension and of their being labelled as racial naturally increased. When the visitors were clearly in the minority, it was impolitic for them to express openly any displeasure they might feel toward the permissive relations among the Island races. With the sudden and rapid increase in numbers of the visitors, many of the less affluent Islanders believed that their limited world of opportunity was being further eroded, and others became resentful of real or imagined acts of condescension or arrogance by the tourists.

During the years of high unemployment and inflation in the 1970s, there was an impressive disposition among adolescents and young adults in Hawai'i to give expression to their frustrations and resentments in acts of depredation and unprovoked aggression on newcomers and tourists as the perpetrators of their misery. In that one decade, the violent crimes known

to the police increased 147 percent, while the total population rose only 19 percent, and a large proportion of these crimes were of "aggravated assault," principally by local residents as the aggressors, and military personnel or civilian visitors as the victims. A number of the more sensational instances, such as the multiple sexual attack on a lone Finnish traveler or the savage harassment of Mainland campers in state parks, have been widely publicized in the American and European press as examples of racial animosities supposedly prevailing here. Actually most of the expressions of rancor toward newcomers, including the use of "haole" as a term of opprobrium toward military personnel and tourists or as a threat in some schools on a "kill-haole-day," are directed toward outsiders in general rather than toward any specific ethnic group.

A somewhat different set of group reactions, more clearly linked to racial or ethnic pride, has become evident in the Islands since Statehood. Paradoxically, it has been among the native Hawaiians, traditionally the most hospitable and outgoing of all Hawai'i's races, that the disposition to extol their unique heritage has manifested itself most vigorously. The activist movements among Hawaiians, described by George Kanahele in this issue, have drawn their inspiration from a reawakened sense of satisfaction in past cultural achievement, on the one hand, and an intense desire to obtain restitution for past injustices suffered at the hands of outsiders, on the other hand. Among the immigrants with less opportunity for adjustment to life in Hawai'i—Filipinos, Samoans, and Southeast-Asian refugees—the efforts to establish their collective worth has initially concentrated in protest of alleged "racist prejudice" in matters of employment, housing, and education. Recognition of the legitimate role of competition from earlier arrivals comes later.

Some observers of the contemporary scene, including visiting social scientists, contend that the manifestations by Islanders since Statehood of increased concern for their ancestral heritage, as well as the evidence of positive resentment toward outsiders, bear witness to a significant watershed in Hawai'i's race relations and that present trends portend an irreversible erosion of the Island tradition of racial equality and tolerance. The publicity in Mainland news media under such captions as "Paradise Lost," "Racial Tension Smoldering," "Hawaiian Hoodlums Attack Tourists," and "Waikiki: 'Central Park West'" call attention to what the writers insist are actually the models of behavior which "locals" seek to emulate.

The verified differences in family income, occupational status, and educational attainments among the several ethnic groups have been represented by educators of Marxian persuasion as clear demonstration of a "rigidly stratified social order" based on race. This interpretation has had a natural appeal and following, especially among students, but it fails to take account of the larger proportion of persons who are intent on and succeed in improving their status under what they assume to be the opportunities in the Hawaiian setting. The relatively limited appeal of movements for "economic revolution" in Hawai'i, even during decades of high unemployment and inflation is largely attributable to the flexibility of the Island situation which has enabled groups brought here at the very bottom of the economic ladder to move upward, some of them to the very top.

In a region as varied in the number and dynamic characters of the elements that have gone into its making as Hawai'i, predictions on delicately balanced matters like race relations, even as near as the year 2000, is extremely hazardous. To judge solely by appearances in the early 1980s, it is safe to forecast, as numerous analysts in the public media have, that the current tendencies among some ethnic groups to propagate and glorify their own ancestral values and traditions will continue, but for how long? Certainly the maintenance of interest in one's ancestral roots is both legitimate and culturally enriching, as long as it does not become a dominating end in itself. Moreover, federal civil-rights legislation, as long as its constitutionality is upheld, will continue to reinforce local concern for the welfare of ethnic minorities whose members protest vigorously about alleged injustices to them.

The continuation of the separatist trend is most impressively symbolized in the recent creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, as a distinct branch within the state administration to serve the interests of only one of its numerous ethnic minorities. This particular "venture into racial separatism," as an editorial in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, the State's largest newspaper, points out, "appears in fact to skirt close to violation of the U.S. Constitution."[10] Some members of other ethnic groups doubtless aspire to a similar subvention for past disabilities, but such an eventuality is most unlikely.

The one immovable obstacle to the dominance of ethnic separatism in Hawai'i's future is, of course, the strength of the interethnic ties that have

already been created, that cannot be wholly disentangled, and that are destined to multiply in the future. (See Bernhard Hormann's paper on "The Mixing Process" in this issue.) The entanglement of racial strains was initiated more than two centuries ago when members of the first European exploratory expeditions entertained native women on board their ships, and the fraternization across racial lines has continued without interruption ever since among all the peoples attracted here from widely separated regions of the world. Accurate statistical data over a 65 year span (1912-1977) reveal a steady rise in the rate of interracial marriage and a corresponding proportion of births to parents of two or more ethnic lines.[11] By the close of the 1970s, no less than 30 percent of the civilian population of the state were reporting themselves as belonging to two or more racial strains, and the actual proportion must have been considerably higher. Such biological combinations obviously cannot be unscrambled, and unless unforeseen forces intervene, the time will come early in the next century when most Islanders will no longer be susceptible of accurate classification as members of any single ethnic group. Neither is it likely that any other grouping of persons of mixed ancestry will choose, like most Part-Hawaiians, to identify themselves ethnically with only one lineage of their varied progenitors.

A continuing trend toward the obliteration of the physical manifestations of race through out-marriage and miscegenation appears to be irresistible under Hawaiian conditions. The cultural interaction which most certainly must accompany this process need not, and most likely will not, assume the standardized model of "Americanization," as in most Mainland communities, but neither is the prospect for Hawai'i one of "cultural pluralism" in the sense of an aggregation of independent, semi-autonomous "sub-societies" or "sub-nations," with separate sets of values and aspirations.

NOTES

1. The underlying conceptions and structure of the following three sections of this paper are sketchily developed in my chapter entitled "Race Relations Frontiers in Hawaii," in Jitsuichio Masuoka and Preston Valien (Eds.), *Race Relations: Problems and Theory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

2. Edgar T. Thompson in his collection of papers, *Plantation Societies, Race Relations and the South: The Regimentation of Populations* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1975) develops the theme of "The Plantation as a Race-making Situation," in universal terms which this section parallels locally.

3. Romanzo Adams in his research brochure, *The Education of the Boys of Hawaii and their Economic Outlook* (University of Hawaii Research Publication, No. 4, 1928) depicts in vivid detail the hopes engendered by education and the limitations imposed upon them by the socio-economic situation at that time.

4. The failure of ethnic groups which have only recently arrived in Hawaii to command the same high wages or the prestigious positions attained by earlier arrivals with greater experience is frequently attributed by the uncritical to "institutional racism."

5. The actual operation of segregation is examined in greater detail in the writer's *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980), pp. 53-71.

6. Further amplification of this topic is found in the writer's *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 245-274; and *Hawaii's People*, pp. 72-90.

7. Yates Stirling, Jr., quoted in *Law Enforcement in the Territory of Hawaii* (U.S. Senate, 72d Congress, 1st Session, Document No. 78), pp. 198-199.

8. E. B. Reuter (Ed.), *Race and Culture Contacts* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934), pp. 143-160.

9. James H. Shoemaker, *The Economy of Hawaii in 1947* (U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 926), p. 188.

10. "The Tough Task Ahead for OHA," editorial in *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Jan. 19, 1981.

11. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, pp. 114, 118-121.

HAWAI'I'S SOCIAL RATING*

Robert C. Schmitt

Hawai'i is in many ways unlike the other 49 states —a fact that seems obvious to any casual observer and becomes even more clearly evident in a comparison of statistics for the Islands and the Mainland. Major differences occur in a wide variety of demographic, social, economic, and governmental characteristics. Many of these differences have a marked effect on the quality of life in the Islands, sometimes for the better and sometimes not.

One of the more significant factors distinguishing Hawai'i is its much higher rate of population growth. Preliminary tabulations of 1980 census results reported the total resident population of Hawai'i as 964,624. Growth since the 1970 census amounted to 25.3 percent, almost triple the national rate of 9.1 percent. The de facto population of Hawai'i in 1980—a figure which includes an average of 100,300 tourists and other visitors present during the year but excludes an average of 8,400 residents temporarily absent—was 1,056,500. The increase in the de facto total since 1970 was 32.5 percent, or about 3-1/2 times the nationwide rate of 9.1 percent.

The de facto density of Hawai'i in 1980 amounted to 64 persons per square kilometer, about the same as California and more than double the U.S. density (24). The 1980 de facto density of O'ahu was 538 per square kilometer, roughly comparable to that of Taiwan or Bangladesh and appreciably greater than the most densely populated American states, Rhode Island and New Jersey.

Hawai'i is heavily urbanized. In 1970 (the most recent year available), 83.1 percent of the population lived in large cities, their urban environs, and other places over 2,500. Only five other states had higher

*This analysis was revised in November 1980, many months before the detailed findings of the 1980 census were scheduled for release. Most of the statistics quoted in this study were accordingly taken from postcensal estimates and sample surveys and in some cases had to go back to the 1970 census. These data may be subject to substantial modification in the light of final 1980 census results.

proportions. Nationally, 73.5 percent of the population resided in urban areas.

Males outnumbered females by 9.1 percent in 1975, in part because of a large military population. For the country as a whole there were 94.9 males per 100 females, and only Alaska had a higher sex ratio than Hawai'i.

The median age in 1975 was 27.3 years, compared with 28.8 for the nation as a whole. Only 7.4 percent of all Island residents in 1978 were 65 years of age or more, compared with 11.0 percent for the entire country.

In ethnic composition Hawai'i is unique. A sample survey conducted by the State Department of Health in 1979 reported that 28.3 percent of the non-institutional, non-barracks population of the Islands was racially mixed, primarily Part Hawaiian (19.0 percent). According to the 1970 U.S. census (which forced persons of mixed race into one or another of the "pure" categories), Hawai'i ranked last in percent white (38.8, as against 87.5 nationally), 11th from the bottom in percent Negro or Black (1.0 vs. 11.1 for the U.S.), and first in percent "other" (60.2 vs. only 1.4). Hawai'i was the leading state in 1970 in persons of Japanese ancestry, second in Filipinos, and third in Chinese.

Nationally, 64.8 percent of the population were living in their state of birth in 1970, while only 4.7 percent were foreign born. In Hawai'i the corresponding percentages were 59.2 and 9.8. More than a third of all Islanders were either foreign born or were native born of foreign or mixed parentage, the highest proportion in any state. By 1979, moreover, the proportion of foreign born Hawai'i residents had risen to 13.2 percent.

Hawai'i averaged 3.45 persons per household and 3.86 per family in 1976, compared with national averages respectively at 2.90 and 3.40. In both respects Hawai'i exceeded all other states.

Church membership in 1972 amounted to 67 percent of the population of Hawai'i, as against 62 percent nationally. The leading groups in the Islands were Roman Catholics (27 percent), Buddhists (15 percent), and Protestants (10 percent). For the nation as a whole, 23 percent were Catholic, 34 percent were Protestant, and a small fraction of 1 percent were Buddhist. (It should be stressed that both local and national estimates are from data submitted by the various demoninations, which differ widely from one another in definitions of membership, and are far from exactly comparable.)

The Island birth rate in 1979 was 19.2 per 1,000 population, compared with a U.S. rate of 15.7. The total fertility rate in 1975 (that is, the number of births that 1,000 women would have in their lifetime if, at each year of age, they experienced the 1975 age-specific birth rate) was 2,095 in Hawai'i and 1,799 on the Mainland. Much of the high fertility reported for Hawai'i is due to births to military couples; omitting military personnel and dependents and their babies, the Island birth rate in 1979 was only 17.6 and the total fertility rate in 1975 was 1,822. Illegitimate births in 1977 accounted for 14.3 percent of all births to Island mothers and 15.5 percent nationally.

The 1977 death rate was 5.0 per 1,000 inhabitants in Hawai'i, second lowest of the 50 states, and 8.8 for the country as a whole. Although the Islands' low rate was primarily due to the youthful population, there is little doubt that Islanders live longer than other Americans. In 1969-1971 the average expectation of life at birth was 73.60 years for Hawai'i residents, more than for any other state and well above the U.S. average of 70.75 years. In all 10 of the leading causes of death in 1977, the Hawai'i rate was less than the national rate, and in six of the 10 Hawai'i was among the three lowest states. The Island infant mortality rate in 1978 was 11.1 per 1,000 live births, compared with 13.6 for the entire country. In 1977 the Islands reported 196 active physicians per 100,000 population (the U.S. rate was 174) and 69 active dentists per 100,000 (nationally it was 53).

Hawai'i exceeds the U.S. average in both marriage and divorce rates. Data for 1977 indicate 11.5 marriages per 1,000 population in the Islands and 10.1 for all states combined. The corresponding divorce rates were 5.1 and 5.0. However, Hawai'i reported 45 divorces per 100 resident marriages in 1977, while the national ratio was 50. Interracial marriages constituted 45.4 percent of the Island resident total in 1978-1979, unquestionably a far higher proportion than anywhere else in the nation.

The educational record is mixed. School enrollment amounted to 87.3 percent of the population five to 17 years old in 1970, not much higher than the national ratio of 86.9 percent, and far less than California's 92.0 percent. Among persons 18 years old and over in 1976, 73.0 percent of all Island residents and 66.6 percent of all Americans were high school graduates. Approximately 1.5 percent of all Hawai'i residents 14 and

over were illiterate in 1970, compared with a national figure of 1.0 percent. The average classroom teacher's salary in Hawai'i was $18,400 in 1979, as against $15,000 for the nation. The expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in 1978 was $1,963 in the Islands, 12th among the 50 states, and $224 above the national average.

Crime is a serious problem in Hawai'i, with above-average rates for property crime and below-average rates for violent crime. Offenses known to the police per 100,000 population in 1978 were as follows:

	Hawai'i	U.S.
Murder and non-negligent manslaughter	6.7	9.0
Forcible rape	25.9	30.8
Robbery	173.6	191.3
Aggravated assault	64	256
Burglary	1,938	1,424
Larceny	4,358	2,744
Motor vehicle theft	571	455

Hawai'i has 19 local governments—one combined city-county, three counties, no municipalities, and 15 quasi-governmental special districts. No other state has fewer than 120 local governments (Rhode Island), and the average per state is 1,597.

The Islands reported fiscal 1979 per capita state and local tax collections of $1,204, sixth highest of the 50 states and far above the U.S. average of $973. Per capita state and local tax collections as a percent of per capita income in the same year were 14.3 in Hawai'i and 12.4 nationwide. Per capita direct general expenditures of state and local governments in fiscal 1978 amounted to $1,881 in the Islands (placing Hawai'i third) and $1,355 nationally.

Only 46.0 percent of the voting-age population of Hawai'i voted in 1978, compared with 39.3 percent in all 50 states. Hawai'i ranked 15th.

Among females 16 years old and over in 1970, 49.0 percent in Hawai'i and 41.4 percent for the entire U.S. were in the labor force, either employed or seeking work. The Hawai'i rate exceeded that of all states and was second only to the District of Columbia. The male labor force participation rate in 1970 was 81.5 percent in the Islands (third highest of all states) and 76.6 percent throughout the country. The 1978 unemployment rate was 7.7 percent in Hawai'i, 1.7 points

above the U.S. average. Among production workers in manufacturing, average 1978 earnings in Hawai'i came to $228 per week, or $5.90 per hour; corresponding averages for the entire country were $249 and $6.17.

Per capita personal income in 1979 was $9,223 in Hawai'i (14th highest) and $8,773 nationally. The median family income in 1975 reported for Hawai'i was $17,770, second among all states and well over the U.S. median of $14,094. Persons with assets of $60,000 or more in 1972 made up 6.5 percent of the population of the state, and 6.2 percent of the U.S. total.

In interpreting these statistics on Island income, it should be kept in mind that Island living costs are considerably higher than those elsewhere in the U.S. In autumn 1979, the annual budget calculated for a four-person family on O'ahu was $16,507 at the "lower" level, $25,799 at the "intermediate" level, and $39,689 at the "higher" level. These budgets were respectively 31, 26, and 31 percent higher than the corresponding U.S. urban averages. Among the 25 metropolitan area for which separate budgets were reported, Honolulu ranked second at all three levels, behind only Anchorage. Adjusted for differential price levels, the per capita personal income of Hawai'i in 1979 was thus at least 16.6 percent below the U.S. average, rather than 5.1 percent above it. The same adjustment should be made for most of the other financial comparisons cited in this summary.

Housing is a particularly serious problem in the Islands. Notwithstanding the high average household size, noted earlier, Island housing units tend to be much smaller than those on the Mainland, with a median 1970 room count of only 4.6 rooms, 0.4 below the U.S. median. Among occupied units, only 46.9 percent were owner occupied, the lowest in the nation, and 16.0 percentage points below the U.S. figure. One in five had more than one person per room in 1970, the highest overcrowding rate in the country and more than double the national average. Fully 13.3 percent of all Island units either lacked some or all plumbing facilities or were dilapidated; the U.S. rate was 9.5 percent. Island housing was also quite expensive. The median value of owner occupied units in 1970 was $35,100, more than double the U.S. median ($17,000) and far above any other state. Among renter occupied units, the median monthly rent in 1970 was $120, third highest of the 50 states and $31 over the national median. Final census results, when released, are expected to show median home values and rents far greater than those reported in 1970.

Comparisons like those noted above (and many others are possible) underscore the unique character of Hawai'i and its people. Many of these comparisons show Island residents to be much more fortunate than their fellow Americans on the Mainland. Others clearly give the edge to other states, and a few are neutral. The overall pattern is mixed, and seems to defy any broad generalization regarding the "quality of life" in Hawai'i.

Notwithstanding such complexities, a number of authorities have attempted to devise composite indexes for American states and metropolitan areas, grouping and weighting a wide range of social indicators in such a way as to enable them to rank all areas with regard to their overall quality of life.

One of the more comprehensive and statistically sophisticated of these efforts was one prepared and published by the Midwest Research Institute in 1973 under the title, *The Quality of Life in the United States 1970: Index, Rating and Statistics*. This study analyzed 108 variables in nine broad categories for each of the 50 states and District of Columbia. Weighted indexes were compiled for each of the nine groupings, with the U.S. average equal to 1.000. This study assigned Hawai'i a composite index of 1.120 and a 51-area rank of 15th.

Such rating systems are of course highly sensitive to the indicators included, the weights given to each indicator, geographic coverage, and the years studied. An earlier analysis by the Midwest Research Institute, published in 1967 but based largely on 1960 statistics, ranked Hawai'i 14th, or one place above its 1970 position. A study published in *Lifestyle Magazine* in November 1972 ranked Hawai'i sixth among the 50 states. A report issued by the Midwest Research Institute in 1975, *Quality of Life Indicators in the U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970*, ranked the Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (O'ahu) 31st among the 65 SMSAs over 500,000. In 1977, the Center for Applied Urban Research of the University of Nebraska studied 100 American cities and ranked Honolulu 7th.

All such research is limited to what is quantifiable. The selection of variables studied and the weights given them is, moreover, based largely on Mainland conditions. The MRI study, for example, included public swimming pools per 100,000 population but not public beaches. It also rated local government expenditures per capita for health and education, both quite low in the Islands where such functions are

primarily State responsibilities. Another indicator, the ratio of Negro to all-race income levels, is misleading where most Black residents are military personnel with low pay but extensive base exchange and commissary privileges. And none of these studies has made any effort to measure the special qualities that make life in Hawai'i so appealing to its residents. Many of these qualities may of course be unquantifiable. Notwithstanding the unimpressive "quality of life" scores calculated for Hawai'i in these studies, most residents would probably rank the Islands well above most Mainland states.

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PART TWO: CURRENT RESEARCH

FILIPINO HAWAIIAN MIGRATION AND ADAPTATION: NEW PARADIGMS FOR ANALYSIS

Fred Soriano

Today Filipinos represent the third largest ethnic group in Hawai'i and as the descendants of earlier migrants are buttressed by a steady wave of new Filipino immigrants, they become a growing force as they increase their involvement in the political process. Yet the social science literature that discusses Filipino adaptation to Hawai'i's multi-ethnic environment is narrowly based and utilizes only those paradigms that emphasize the social pathologies and negative stereotypes which appeared during the first stages of migration at the turn of the century. The literature assumes that from the beginning Filipino migration produced problems in ethnic relations, alienation, social disorganization, and social control that are still current in the group today (Hart, 1979; Rabaya, 1971; Schaefer, 1979; Hormann, 1968). The primary purpose of this paper is to shift the focus away from pathological consideration by suggesting new perspectives that include displaced social mobility, family reunification, late marriages and modified family structures.

When using the pathological perspective, the resident "majority" or power groups often measure their values against the behavior of immigrants and thus view newcomers as being "deviance prone with low standards of moral conduct" (Kinlock, 1979:60). The social welfare institutions, as agencies of the power structure and as consumers and stimulators of the applied research which only identifies *problems*, reinforce and perpetuate the Filipino stereotype when it does not conform to the norms of the dominant culture. While their intentions may be decently supportive, there is an unintended consequence of a literature that inhibits an understanding of the underlying strengths and adaptability of the Filipino culture. In reviewing the first major bibliography, Hart (1979:174-75) states:

> For example, under 'Ethnic Difference and Delinquency' (a curious combination) one finds numerous references to brain tumor, criminal sentencing, disease, paroles and pardons, psychopathology,

> schizophrenia, truancy, mental health patients, etc. In contrast, entries under 'Culture' are few. There is no subject topics for folklore, only one entry under folk dances, three for music, etc. This is not a criticism of the bibliography; the compilers report what is readily available on Filipinos in Hawaii particularly for the present.

This emphasis on pathology has also been emphasized by the particular demographic characteristics associated with Filipino migration history. It includes such qualities as high illiteracy, a high percentage of young family-less men, and disproportionate age and sex profiles related to lateness of their migration. Unlike the previous migrant groups whose recruitment was rationalized at least partly on the grounds of "restocking the islands," Filipino recruitment was based purely on economic grounds (Lind, 1967: 31). Overall, labor recruitment of the various ethnic groups created an imbalanced sex ratio of large numbers of men to very few women during the initial stages of migration. However, other ethnic groups were able to correct this imbalance because of their peculiar circumstances. Chinese, being the first immigrant group, had access to Hawaiian women in common law relationships. Portuguese migrants were encouraged to bring their wives and children. Japanese migrants were also encouraged to bring their families and could obtain picture brides. Meanwhile, the early Filipino immigrants had difficulties correcting their imbalanced sex ratio since their recruitment took place at a critical time when an easily controllable plantation labor force was needed to offset the effects of labor unrest among the Japanese (Fuchs, 1961:139). Further stimulation of Filipino migration was provided by the Exclusion Act of 1924 which virtually eliminated immigration from Japan.

In 1920, the sex ratio was less than one female to every seven males (Lind, 1967:31) and the high rate of illiteracy was the result of the recruitment of workers who could be easily controlled to minimize labor unrest.[1] The existing literature assumed that these factors necessarily produced a host of social problems associated with deviance, a lack of social mobility, and family and sexual stress. For example:

> The striking contrast in 1960 between the median age of Filipino males (38.6 years) and of Filipino females (16.8 years) which is without parallel in any other group in the islands, *highlights one of the major social problems* in the islands. When one considers that less than one out of every three Filipino men aged 45 years and over was married and living with his wife in 1960 and that a great majority of Filipinos has been denied normal family associations and sex relations for thirty or more of the most vigorous years of life, it is not particularly surprising that in certain forms of mental breakdown, sex delinquencies, and crimes of violence and passion, their rates are above average. (Lind, 1967:36, emphasis added)

Social scientists have not paid adequate attention to the more positive aspect of Filipino migration and the adaptive strategies created by recruitment policies. Given the same profile a different analysis can be made from other perceptions.

New Paradigms: Strategies for Adaptation

While Filipinos, like others, experienced a variety of social problems as the result of migration, they have also developed adaptive strategies as positive adjustment and effective solutions to these problems. An analysis of these adaptive strategies requires the development of new paradigms that describe and explain displaced social mobility, modified family structures, family reunification after prolonged separation, and late marriages as unique responses to the abnormal demographic profile.

As the last major ethnic group recruited under the conditions of high illiteracy, social mobility among the Filipinos was severely restricted. However social mobility can be measured differently from the traditional orientation when examining it in terms of its displacement from Hawai'i to the Philippines.[2] In response to the presence of few families during the early stages of migration, the cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* (Hart, 1977; Mintz and Wolf, 1977) was utilized by modifying it to provide family attachments for large numbers of single or married men who had left their families in the *barrios* in the Philippines. As a solution to the unavailability of marriage partners in Hawai'i, segments of the Filipino male population returned to the Philippines upon their retirement to marry young wives. Married men who had left their families to seek economic opportunities abroad repatriated and get reunited with their families despite several decades of prolonged separation.

Displaced Social Mobility

Social scientists often utilize the traditional linear model which states that over time ethnic groups

tend to move up the socio-economic scale as they become acculturated and assimilated. However, this model does not accurately describe the pattern of social mobility for a significant segment of the Filipino migrants. This is particularly true for those large numbers of retired plantation workers who returned to the Philippines.[3] Despite their very low social status in Hawai'i, they experienced a dramatic status reversal upon their retirement and return to the Philippines. These "returned migrants" (Griffiths, 1978)[4] achieved the enviable status of *pensionado* (Kim and Mejia, 1977:v)[5] where they were accorded high social and economic prestige. Thus a model of displaced social mobility can be utilized to assess more adequately their experiences which accounted for their return and subsequent dramatic elevation in status.

In Hawai'i the late arrival of Filipinos and their widespread illiteracy were significant factors that limited opportunities for social mobility. In addition, the alien status of many Filipinos was a critical barrier to social mobility. Many Filipino laborers maintained their alien status because they had intended to return to their *barrios* of origin upon completion of their contracts or upon retirement. This condition, of course, prevented them from participating in the political process even though they represented a sizable proportion of the population. The large number of Filipinos who could not vote placed them in a very weak power base (Fuchs, 1961: 148) which allowed local political leaders to ignore them.[6] Their alien status also prevented them from obtaining government jobs which served other ethnic groups as vehicles of social mobility. Throughout the whole period of labor recruitment there was a constant flow from and to the Philippines of newly-arrived recruits and those returning after completion of their contracts.

Those who migrated from the poverty-stricken *barrios* to the Hawaiian sugar plantations in search of economic opportunity found themselves working in low status positions, menial and physically demanding labor jobs that paid depressingly low wages. Only by adopting a frugal lifestyle based on a high degree of deferred gratification were the Filipino laborers able to save nickels and dimes to send to their families or to purchase additional acreage which increased their meager landholdings in the Philippines. This ability to save money was enhanced by the opportunities to hunt, fish, and farm on small plots of plantation land during their spare time. All of these activities were a significant part of plantation culture which, in

many respects, was similar to the lifestyle they had enjoyed in the *barrios*. Those who were not able to endure the hardships on the plantations or the prolonged separation from their families returned home soon after fulfilling their contract obligations. However, despite these negative factors, a sizable number continued to work on the plantations until their retirement before returning to the *barrios*, decades after the conditions of the original three-year contract had been fulfilled. These were the ones who experienced the phenomenon of displaced social mobility which entailed a precipitous rise in their social and economic status upon their return. Those *pensionados* who remained in Hawai'i experienced no status reversal.

Because of low plantation wages, retirement in Hawai'i for some plantation workers has meant subsistence at about or slightly above the poverty line. Elderly housing, medicare, foodstamps, social security supplemental income, and other welfare programs are critical for many retirees in Hawai'i. However, the circumstance of returning *pensionados* is totally opposite that of their counterparts who remained in Hawai'i. Instead of limited resources, the returned migrants immediately enjoy a life of affluence.

What amounts to bare subsistence in Hawai'i becomes a "princely" sum in the *barrios* because of several economic factors. One important factor is the strength of the U.S. dollar in the Philippines (the exchange rate in 1979 was 7.5 pesos to the dollar). Another is the low per-capita annual income of $412 for the Philippines (*World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1980:570). Therefore, what is a relatively small retirement income for the *pensionado* in Hawai'i is worth comparatively much more in the Philippines. For example, from a random sample of 160 *pensionados* who returned to the *barrios* of the Province of Ilocos Norte, a mean retirement income received largely from Social Security was $266 in 1979.[7] This is equivalent to an average monthly income of 2,000 pesos or an annual income of 24,000 pesos. Few professions or occupations in the Philippines earn this amount. In many cases the income of the *pensionado* is greater than that of schoolteachers and administrators, mayors of local towns, and other government officials who represent the elite of the *barrios* in an agrarian society.

In addition to Social Security benefits, some returning *pensionados* had another source of retirement income which provided them with instant wealth. These men were able to utilize the option of collecting their

plantation retirement benefits in one lump sum payment instead of monthly checks. The International Longshoremen Warehouse Union representing the sugar plantation workers negotiated this option for the purpose of benefiting those retirees who decided to return to the Philippines under the plantation program of repatriation. Lump sum payments varied according to a worker's length of service. In the sample studied the average payment was $10,522, with payments ranging from a few hundred dollars to $28,000. About 51 percent of the sample qualified for and received lump sum payments.

In total contrast to the frugal lifestyle of his working years in Hawai'i, the returning *pensionado* now enjoyed a life of wealth marked by a high level of conspicuous consumption. The most noticeable display of wealth was the number of modern and expensive homes built by the *pensionados*. They were spacious and decorative and utilized the most expensive building materials such as hardwood, marble, brick, tile, and concrete —a startling contrast to the barracks-like living quarters they experienced in the plantation camps. Furthermore, in the *barrios* where poverty is widespread, the homes of these *pensionados* stood in stark contrast to the *nipa* huts, the typical dwellings of many of the people.

The wealth of the *pensionados* has far-reaching effects on *barrio* life where it allows them to easily purchase property or to develop their own businesses (Griffiths, 1978:45-67). In their retirement they are now able to hire maids to do their cooking, laundry and housecleaning, and private chauffeurs to drive them around. During hard times the *barrio* residents are able to tap the financial resources of the *pensionados*. For example, it is rather common for *pensionados* to support their relatives in an extended family situation, a condition which further enhances their elevated status. Their wealth is shared frequently with non-relatives who may seek loans during periods of financial difficulty to finance their children's college education.

The affluent lifestyle among the *pensionados* who returned to the *barrios* was nowhere duplicated among other immigrant groups such as the Chinese and Japanese when they returned to their homelands before 1930. During that period neither Social Security nor plantation retirement benefits existed. By the time these benefits became available for agricultural workers after World War II, repatriation among the other ethnic groups was virtually nonexistent.

Instead many early Chinese and Japanese immigrants left the plantation to become entrepreneurs or sought other economic opportunities outside of the plantation social structure. These early Oriental immigrants encouraged their children to obtain an education in order to achieve some measure of upward mobility which was denied them on the plantations. After several generations and after World War II the adaptive strategy of pursuing an education did result in upward movement of the offspring when they gained increasing influence in shaping the economic and political destiny of the islands.[8] Filipinos also pursued the adaptive strategy of education, but their impact in achieving social mobility was minimal and somewhat delayed because of their late arrival and the presence of relatively few families with children during the early stages of migration.[9]

Thus, while the lowly status of pensioners continued for those who remained in Hawai'i, a life where a meager fixed-income retirement meant living under poverty conditions, those *pensionados* who returned to their home *barrios* encountered an immediate and unprecedented change in status. Now they lived in the manner which only the rich in America could afford. This evidence of economic reversal is the adaptive strategy of those returning migrants and is a clear example of displaced social mobility.

Late Marriages and Family Reunification

Filipinos place a high value on having families but their pattern of migration created two peculiar demographic characteristics which retarded their ability to establish families and to maintain family ties. One inhibiting characteristic was the presence of a large number of single men who had to compete for a limited number of marriageable Filipinas. Another was the prolonged separation of married men from the families they left behind in the Philippines. In response to these circumstances they attempted to alter these conditions through the adaptive strategies of marrying late in life and the reuniting with their families after retirement from the plantation.

The unbalanced sex ratio of a large number of men to few women prevented a significant segment of the Filipino male population from marrying during their usual marriageable years. Ironically, it was only at the time of their retirement that this condition changed dramatically. While old age is normally a precarious barrier to marriage for most elderly Americans who had remained bachelors, these *pensionados*

encountered an inverse experience. Their elevated status resulting from the process of displaced social mobility counteracted the negative effects of old age, as they were able to marry young *barrio* women who provided them with companionship and children. Their retirement income, savings, expensive homes, and landholdings are all powerful inducements that attract young women to marriage despite the age difference. In the *barrios* where poverty is widespread, marriage to a *pensionado* is an expedient means to achieve social mobility for women who come from impoverished circumstances.

Many of the marriages involving *pensionados* and young wives produced offspring. Because of an economic incentive, couples in these marriages tended to have as many children as possible. For instance, there is a monthly Social Security allotment for each child until the age of majority, with additional financial assistance when entering institutions of higher learning.

In the sample studied all of the *pensionados* who were married to young women had fathered children. The average age of the husbands was 70 and the wives was 30. The average number of children in these marriages was 2.65. These figures point out the strong desire of the *pensionado* to establish and maintain families with marriage partners well within the childbearing age. A preliminary assessment indicates that these marriages are successful because of the heightened need of these young women for economic security. In exchange they provide their elderly husbands with the opportunity to finally become fathers. While age differences undoubtedly created some problems in family relationships, marriage to a *pensionado* is strongly encouraged and widely reinforced in the *barrios*.

Currently the pattern of taking young wives is also prevalent among *pensionados* retiring in Hawai'i.[10] The procedure for getting married involves their return to the *barrios* for a vacation at which time they select from a field of eligibles the woman whom they will marry and take back to Hawai'i with them. Selections are often influenced by relatives or friends who engage in matchmaking. While these types of marriages are becoming more evident in Hawai'i, they are looked upon for the most part as curious oddities here. Western culture values romantic love and a belief that the closeness of age between husbands and wives is ideal for good marital relationships. Because of the wide age differences it is generally assumed that such marriages in Hawai'i are doomed to failure. However,

despite the problems that age difference may create, there are several factors that tend to keep such marriages intact. One is the unlikely prospect of the wives finding a better opportunity for upward mobility. Under ordinary conditions these women would have had no expectation of coming to Hawai'i because they lacked either the professional skills and education needed abroad or they had no relatives who were American citizens to petition for immigration on their behalf.

With the liberalization of the immigration laws of 1964 facilitating American citizens to send for their foreign relatives, marriage to *pensionados* for some women has become the fastest means of coming to Hawai'i. Under the liberalized law, foreign spouses and children of American citizens are given top preference to migrate to the United States, by-passing any quota restrictions.[11] In return for the chance to come to Hawai'i, these women provide their elderly husbands the opportunity to have their own nuclear families, a goal long awaited. Once the wives are established in Hawai'i and become American citizens, usually five years after their arrival, they file petitions to bring their close relatives (parents and siblings) as finances permit. This migration of relatives during the past decade has been a significant factor in correcting the long-standing sex imbalance (Hackenberg, *et al.*, 1978). It is under this condition of obligation to the elderly husbands for making possible the migration of relatives that the marriages remain intact and these husbands are held in high esteem despite the large age gap.

While the elevated social status has made marriage and the production of children possible for many of the *pensionados* who were single prior to retirement, it has also made possible the reunification of families where the husband had left for Hawai'i decades earlier. After prolonged separation, the normal expectation would be for the dissolution of these marriages. However, this is generally not the case for returning *pensionados*. Of the sample studied, 37 percent were married prior to their departure to Hawai'i. During their thirty to forty years of laboring on the plantations, none were able to return for more than three visits. Despite the brief contacts and long years of separation, they were still able to maintain their families and sustain their marriages.

There were powerful economic incentives for wives to remain steadfast in the marriage and wait for

their husbands' return. These wives received a substantial portion of their husbands' wages which guaranteed them a high standard of living in the Philippines. Also, as wives of a contributor into Social Security, they could anticipate receiving their own benefits at age 62. Thus, without the husband's presence but with the husband's money, wives with other kinds of support from relatives in the extended family relationship were able to raise and educate their children. In addition to regular monthly allotments, many wives were able to augment family holdings through the purchase of land or to develop businesses with the savings of the husbands. The economic rewards realized by the wives appeared to offset the problems of prolonged separation from their husbands, and the dramatic elevation of the husbands' social status when they returned to the *barrios* facilitated their prospect of family reunification.

These late marriages of the *pensionados*, as well as the reunification with families after a prolonged separation, were social phenomena unique to the Filipino migration. Late marriage was an adaptive strategy which many *pensionados* experienced primarily because of demographic factors which had limited their chances of getting married in Hawai'i during their younger years. Family reunification was a goal that had been realized by the married *pensionados* who had been away from their families for several decades. These social phenomena are prime indications of the high need for families among Filipinos in the face of factors that tend to work against establishing families and maintaining family ties.

Modified Family Structures

During the early stages of migration, the presence of few Filipino families in Hawai'i intensified the need for family life among the numerous single and married men who had left their own families in the *barrios*. In response to this need, the Filipino migrants began to develop an adaptive strategy of creating modified family structures. This process was unique among the various ethnic elements who migrated to Hawai'i. The Filipino version was the cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* (ritual kinship) widely utilized by many Hispanic cultures (Hart, 1977). An important feature of this family system is the social concept of co-parenthood by which adults, unrelated by blood or marriage to a child's parents, become the child's godparents at his baptism. In

Hawai'i this took on stronger meaning as the ritual kinsman became an active member of his adopted nuclear family.

In delineating the different roles in this ritual kinship, the adults referred to one another as *compare* (co-father) or *comare* (co-mother); the godchild was known as *anak ti baroc* (male) or *balasangko* (female), and the godchild addressed his godparent as *ninong* (godfather) or *ninang* (godmother).[12] Traditionally a godparent shared to some degree the functions of child rearing, socialization, and social control with the biological parents. Furthermore, this socially created family structure provided a network of emotional, social, and economic support that could be brought to bear when problems beset any individual in this system of ritual kinship (Arce, 1961; Eisenstadt, 1956; Hart, 1977; Jacobson, 1969). From a sociological perspective, the cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* had far-reaching effects in the evolution and stability of Filipino communities in Hawai'i.

At the very early stages of migration, Filipinos were recrutied solely to work as laborers and not to "restock the islands" as was partly rationalized for the migration of Japanese and Portuguese. The demographic consequence of such an economic policy was the creation of large pools of men who were devoid of family life in Hawai'i. The population figures covering the period between 1909 and 1946 reveal that of 126,019 Filipinos who migrated to Hawai'i, only 16,794 or 13 percent were women and children (Alcantara, 1973). Under these demographic conditions, the social life of Filipino plantation workers was severely limited, and daily activities were akin to military life on a foreign outpost. Plantation officials recognized very early the problems that these familyless men faced and attempted to correct this situation. However, the following letter from one plantation official to another highlights the difficulties in getting more Filipino women to come to Hawai'i:

> . . . if more of these men were married they would give better results, they would work harder and stay at their jobs more steadily. A very great effort is being made to get the women to come here but thus far it has been attended with poor success. The fact of the matter is that Filipinos do not come here very freely. They have to be urged to come and in such cases the women always held back. (M. Swanzey to Colin McLennon, June 3, 1912)

Filipino laborers who did not wish to continue working on the plantations because of their separation

from their families or because of the dim prospects for getting married in Hawai'i, returned to the Philippines after fulfilling their work contract. In spite of hardships, those who remained in Hawai'i began to utilize the cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* to form some manner of family life. This helped ease the drudgery of work and provided them with some social roles within the community. The need to develop modified family structures in the form of ritual kinship was in response to the pattern of migration which entailed the migration of individuals who were not normally related. Few families in the Philippine barrios encouraged the migration of more than one family member because of the fear of social and economic uncertainties abroad. In the absence of real relatives, ritual kinship served as an adaptive substitute. The participation of the godparents in the upbringing of their godchildren strengthened the ritual kinship. Many Hawaiian born Filipino children developed close emotional and social ties with their *ninongs* and *ninangs* to the extent that they were revered as real relatives.

The cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* also intensified relationships among adults. Becoming a *compare* or *comare* made friendship relationships even stronger as co-parents were able to rely on each other for mutual support during times of crises in an alien environment. The family was the center for social activities in which the co-parents frequently participated. This modified family structure was the primary institution through which many single and married men without families in Hawai'i were able to maintain ties with their culture since many Filipino customs and traditions were practiced primarily within this setting. During the early-stage migration there were no major institutions other than the family that could carry out the function of maintaining cultural ties within the Filipino communities in Hawai'i.

To some extent, *compadrinazgo* is similar to the Chinese fraternal organizations (secret societies) and to the Japanese *kumiai's* (neighborhood community organizations). These adaptive institutions fulfilled many of the family functions for the large number of Chinese and Japanese men who were also without families of their own during their earlier stages of migration. The fraternal organization provided its members with social, emotional, and economic support when needed, and it was the core for activities that linked them with their cultural heritage (Bonk, 1974). The *kumiai* created a functional equivalent of the extended family through which its members were also

able to seek help in meeting their social, emotional, and economic needs (Embree, 1939; Lind, 1939; Stephenson and Miyashiro, 1979).

The utility of being attached to a modified family structure created a surge to become godparents. However, because of the sex imbalance, it was obvious that there would be persistently a very limited number of families with which to form attachments. The Filipinos were able to solve this problem by modifying the cultural mechanism of *compadrinazgo* through the widespread utilization of multiple sponsors (multiple godparents). Traditionally in the *barrios* multiple sponsorship "was rare and occurred for only those few prominent village residents" (Hart, 1977: 169) but among the Filipinos in Hawai'i it was a common practice.

Multiple sponsorship was widely practiced in Hawai'i as a strategy to enable more Filipino men to become co-parents. As a result, it was not uncommon for children to have anywhere from 10-15 godparents who were predominantly *ninongs*. The opportunity to become a godparent was further enhanced as each child in a family had a different set of godparents from those of his siblings. In addition, many adults chose to become godparents to several children from different families.

Because of the extremely limited number of Filipino families in Hawai'i, the manifest function of utilizing multiple sponsorship made it possible for many to develop family attachments. This allowed men to become ritual kinsmen to a single family or to several families. Perhaps one of the more important consequences of multiple sponsorship was the latent function of reducing or minimizing sexual tension and conflict that would normally result from an imbalanced sex ratio between a large number of men to few women. In those rare instances where the co-parents were unrelated males and females, as ritual brothers (*compares*) and sisters (*comares*) they were also prohibited from forming sexual liaisons as if they were close blood relatives (Hart, 1977; Parsons, 1940; Santico, 1973). The incest tabu practiced by ritual kinsmen lessened competition for the few married women and became a stabilizing factor for controlling what otherwise would have become a chaotic and tension producing situation among Filipinos.

The adaptive strategy of creating modified family structures through the utilization of the mechanism

of *compadrinazgo* served to fulfill serveral key emotional, social, and economic functions for the Filipinos. It provided for an effective response to the abnormal profile of a large number of family-less men yearning for some family life during the early stages of migration. However, while *compadrinazgo* is still in common practice among Hawai'i's Filipinos today, the need to create family attachments through ritual kinship is no longer so critical. This is due primarily to the fact that the Filipino population in Hawai'i has shifted toward a more balanced sex ratio, thus it allows more Filipinos opportunities to establish families of their own in Hawai'i. Furthermore, since the liberalization of immigration laws in 1964, more relatives from the Philippines are now willing and able to join their families in Hawai'i, lessening the need for ritual kinship relationships.

NOTES

1. In the process of labor recruitment in the *barrios*, potential recruits were asked whether or not they could read and write. Invariably all indicated they could not, even though a number of them were literate. Another test for illiteracy was the presence of callouses on the hands. It was generally believed that males with callouses were illiterate farmers. However, those who did not have callouses before the examination would spend weeks developing callouses by actually engaging in hard work or by just rubbing the palm of their hands on rough surfaces to give the impression that they too were farmers with no education.

2. In 1979 I was awarded a research grant from the Office of Research Administration of the University of Hawai'i to conduct a study on the patterns and impact of Filipino migration to Hawai'i, primarily focusing on the retired plantation worker who returned to the Philippines.

3. While there are no exact figures on the number of retired plantation workers who returned to the Philippines, I was able to obtain a list of approximately 1,500 plantation retirees from eight towns in the province of Ilocos Norte. There were several other provinces that the retired workers returned to which are not included in the sample study.

4. Griffiths conducted one of the first studies examining factors that influence migrants from a town in Ilocos Norte to return after spending several years working in Hawai'i.

5. The authors point out that the term *pensionado* was originally applied to 500 Filipino university students from the Philippines who were sent to America to study at the expense of the United States government at the turn of the century. In this paper the term *pensionado* is used to refer to the status in which a retiree collects a retirement income from government and/or private sources.

6. The alien status of Filipinos in the 1930s was largely the creation of the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which shifted the legal status of Filipinos from Nationals to Aliens. The Act was in preparation for granting the Commonwealth of the Philippines political independence ten years later.

7. The sample was distributed throughout eight major towns in the Province of Ilocos Norte. Twenty *pensionados* were randomly selected from each of the towns. The *pensionados* were interviewed with a structured schedule to determine their demographic profile and ascertain the factors that influenced them to return home.

8. The Chinese and Japanese have developed a strong economic and political base to the extent that they have become leaders in the business community and have gained a strong foothold in government. George Ariyoshi, the current governor, was the first Oriental to be elected as governor of Hawai'i.

9. Hawaii's Filipinos have attempted to assert themselves in the fields of business, law, medicine, education, government and the arts. However, in some of these fields they are grossly underrepresented.

10. There is no good estimation as to how large this phenomenon is. However, these couples are highly visible in many communities.

11. Since the liberalized law, the Philippines has annually been the largest source of foreign immigration to Hawai'i.

12. The terms delineating the roles are Ilocano terms. These terms fit more appropriately the Filipino population in Hawai'i, consisting largely of Ilocanos.

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ENRIQUE COMES HOME

Stephen L. Griffiths

Although his bus was not expected to reach the village from Manila until ten thirty in the evening, at seven villagers began to gather at the roadside in anticipation of Enrique's arrival. The women chatted with each other, the children played tag, and the men killed a goat and started a fire to roast it—and sent teenage boys to the nearest store to buy soft drinks, beer, and gin.

Enrique Cruz,* age 65, was coming home. He was coming home to the village in the Philippines that he had left forty-five years before to work on a sugar plantation in Hawai'i. Since then he had never been back to the village—not even for a short visit. His arrival was eagerly awaited by his brothers and sisters and members of his kindred, many of whom had been born and reached maturity in his absence.

Enrique's village stood next to the national highway, a paved narrow ribbon which stretched from the capital of the province, Laoag, thirty kilometers to the north, to the nation's largest city, Manila, four hundred kilometers to the south. It was located at the northwestern tip of a horse-shoe shaped valley, bounded by low-lying hills on three sides and the national highway on the fourth. Across the road to the west was the Simbaan River which dissected rice fields and flowed into the south China Sea two kilometers to the northwest. About nine hundred people lived in the village.

It was the third week of May and the air was hot and humid. Unirrigated rice fields were dry and cracked, and the bamboo which grew on hillsides was brown. The slightest wind, like a child's scuffle, stirred dust into the air. To the east, above the

*Enrique Cruz is a pseudonym. All other personal names used in this essay are also pseudonyms. The research upon which this article is based was conducted in 1973 and 1975 and was sponsored by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Cordillera mountain range, thunderheads had begun to form in the past few days, but none had yet moved out over the narrow coastal plains. Village farmers prayed that the rains would come soon so that they could plant their first crop of rice. In the meantime they collected firewood, repaired their homes, and spent long hours along the river banks gathering grass for their livestock. It was a time of uneasiness and waiting. Even the social season of weddings, baptisms, and fiestas was ending, since no one was quite sure when the weather would change.

Enrique's imminent arrival would mark the last round of partying before villagers turned to the harrowing, plowing, and planting of their fields. Perhaps, as several of those who congregated by the roadside suggested, it might even culminate in Enrique's marriage.

Enrique had left the village as a single man, and he had not married in Hawai'i. As the fourth child of nine, seven of whom were male, the chances of Enrique's father providing him with a dowry upon his marriage had been slight. In Ilocano culture and society a young man receives his share of the family estate in the form of dowry at marriage. The dowry provides the economic foundation for the marriage and becomes the joint property of the husband and wife. Ideally, each child, male or female, receives an equal share of their parents' estate. But land, when Enrique was a young man, was a very scarce resource, and his parents did not possess enough of it to provide all their sons—let alone their daughters—with a dowry.

So, like many young men in his peer group and like three of his brothers, Enrique grasped the opportunity, provided by recruiters who came to his province, to work in the sugar plantations of Hawai'i. This was not his only option, however. Two of Enrique's brothers migrated to frontier regions of the Philippines—one to the Cagayan Valley and the other to the southern island of Mindanao—to seek land to farm. Only Enrique's youngest brother, Pedro, did not leave the village. It was Pedro, of course, who cared for his parents in their old age and eventually inherited their land. Enrique's two sisters also remained in the village; one, Adelina, married and raised a family; the other, Espirita, a dependent in her brother's household, like many in her peer group, was to remain a spinster. Suitable suitors were scarce.

The Filipino migration that had brought Enrique and three of his brothers to Hawai'i was first organized

by the Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association which represented thirty plantations on the islands of O'ahu, Kauai, Maui, and Hawai'i. To meet the needs of a rapidly expanding sugar industry, the HSPA recruited cheap foreign labor. From the beginning in 1906 a predominant HSPA strategy was to recruit single, uneducated men in the hopes of maintaining a transient, flexible labor force. As inducements, recruits were initially offered free passage to Hawai'i, housing perquisites on the plantation, and, after 1915, return passage to the Philippines upon completion of three-year labor contracts. The HSPA's most intense recruitment efforts occurred in the 1920s. Between 1906 and 1946 (when the recruitment ended) approximately 125,000 Filipinos went to Hawai'i. most of them single males from the Ilocos region, an area of exceptionally high population density and limited land resources.

Not all of these men remained in Hawai'i, however. Many, like two of Enrique's brothers, returned to the Philippines after the completion of their contracts to marry and buy land with their savings. Those, however, who stayed constituted the backbone of the unskilled labor force on the plantations. Because of the demographic imbalance in the Filipino population (many more males than females) few, however, married.

The plantations became unionized in 1946, and today Hawai'i's agricultural laborers are the highest paid in the nation. At retirement workers become eligible for monthly retirement benefits and may remain in low-rent plantation housing. They are also eligible for Social Security benefits.

In the 1960s and 1970s many of the recruits, including Enrique, reached retirement age. Concerned with the need to provide housing for younger employees, both the plantation management and the union encouraged men to consider returning to the Philippines for retirement. If the men chose to do so, they would receive their plantation benefits from the plantation in a lump sum. An advantage, the men were told, to retiring in the Philippines was the favorable exchange ratio. In the Philippines a retiree's Social Security benefits make him wealthy; in Hawai'i they are just enough to make ends meet, if that. For this reason, men like Enrique who would have probably remained in Hawai'i otherwise, returned to their natal villages to retire, renewing ties to kinsmen and village-mates after what was often more than a forty-year absence.

Still single when they returned to the village, many married women at least thirty-five years their junior shortly after arrival and within a year or two became parents. The Philippines is fourth among foreign countries in the total number of retirees receiving benefits but *first* in the number of dependents also receiving benefits, a direct consequence of these May-December marriages (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics Report, 1975).

Of the forty-three men sixty years of age and over in Enrique's village 72 percent (N=31) have had work experience in Hawai'i. Of these, 65 percent (N=20) returned to the village before the Second World War, shortly after completing their three year labor contracts. The remainder (N=11) did not return until they reached or were approaching retirement age. Almost all of the latter have taken young women as wives and fathered children. There are, of course, emigrants sixty years of age and over still in Hawai'i, some of whom may yet return to the Philippines. A consequence of the predominantly male migration to Hawai'i is the fact that 30 percent (N=18) of all the village women sixty years of age and over (N=60) are spinsters.

In the years that he spent in Hawai'i, Enrique did not, like some emigrants, send money to his relatives to buy land. There was no need to, for two of his brothers who had returned from Hawai'i upon completion of their contracts had purchased land with their savings, and his youngest brother, Pedro, had inherited land from his parents. Rather, Enrique had chosen to spend his earnings on the cockfights. It was rumored among the crowd at the roadside that he had made some handsome winnings that numbered in the thousands of dollars.

But whether Enrique was returning with part of this fortune was unimportant because he had another—the lump sum provided all retirees who returned to the Philippines by the plantation management. And he would be receiving monthly Social Security benefits, which, converted to pesos, would be more than four times the salary of a local public school teacher. Enrique's lump sum amounted to more than fifteen thousand dollars, an incredible fortune in a peasant economy.

As a young man, Enrique had left the village with only the clothing and blankets provided by the plantation recruiter, and now he was returning with a

commodity that was as rare as land forty years ago—money. While his relatives were certainly looking forward to his return, they were also a little apprehensive, for they did not know how he would choose to handle his fortune.

As the hour grew later, more and more people gathered by the side of the road, carefully watching the sparse highway traffic. An approaching bus suddenly slowed, and the crowd, realizing that Enrique was at hand, let out a big whoop and rushed to surround the bus as it came to a stop. The cry went up, "*Hawaiiano simangpet! Hawaiano simangpet!*" (A Hawaiiano has arrived). More people rushed to the roadside. Excitement mounted; women cried and shouted; youngsters jostled each other to get the first glimpse of the Hawaiiano.

Enrique, with a head of white hair and wearing a bright red aloha shirt, stepped off the bus and was immediately engulfed by his relatives. He did not seem to know what to make of the situation for he recognized no one. Led by his brother, he proceeded to the back of the bus to claim his luggage from the hold. Then, as the bus started up, Enrique's relatives directed him to Adelina's home where he would be staying.

The next day a continuous flow of visitors came to see Enrique, many of them to collect letters he had hand-carried from Hawai'i. To provide snacks and a meal for their guests, Enrique's brothers, with the help of men who had reputations as skilled cooks, butchered a pig and a goat. Enrique enjoyed the attention he received from the visitors and he willingly entertained them with tales about his life in Hawai'i. On Sundays, he said, he and his friends held cockfights at the Waipahu plantation. Once he and several others went to Arizona to attend the cockfights. On the way he stopped in California to visit his brother who had left Hawai'i during the Depression. Enrique's brother did not recognize him and started to cry when Enrique told him who he was. "Long time we brothers no see each other," commented Enrique to his guests. He bowed his head briefly and then shook off the unpleasant memory by changing the subject.

"I'm not going to work anymore because I have a pension." He laughed at the thought. Tapping the chair that he was sitting on, he said, "I'm going to sit here until I die. I get more than two hundred

dollars a month on my pension. I came back here because I won't have to spend money on anything. I'll get a garden for my vegetables. I'll get a rice field. I'll get a house. In Hawai'i I have to pay for everything: electricity, water, everything." But he mentioned that he had not decided if he would stay in the village permanently. He wanted to see first if he liked it. Already he had noticed that the air was too hot, and the wooden bed he had slept on had been hard and uncomfortable. The rice he ate for breakfast was too grainy. "Oh," he sighed to himself, "I wish I had brought some good rice with me from Hawai'i."

Enrique had little intention of returning to Hawai'i, but he was being careful to assure that his relatives treated him well. The first retiree who had returned to the village six years earlier was so angered by the financial demands made upon him by his kin that he and his young wife moved to another province. Enrique, who had heard of this in Hawai'i, was not about to let the lesson be lost.

Among Enrique's visitors were his fellow retirees. One, Berto Castro, had spent twenty years in California before being deported to the Philippines by immigration for being a pimp. "Berto," so said his friends, "could start across the country with a nickle in his pocket—as long as he had three girls with him."

Berto had returned to the village in the early fifties. He came back with only a small amount of savings, and his family had no land. Until he was old enough to qualify for a Veteran's pension (he served briefly in the U.S. Armed Forces during the Second World War), he made a living by investing small amounts of money in the garlic trade. And to earn prestige (which would more easily have been his if he had owned land), he invested in what he termed "public relations": when he could afford to, he gave or lent money to relatives and neighbors in need, and he often acted as the master of ceremonies at baptismal and wedding parties. He even ran for a seat on the village council and won with the highest number of votes.

Yet a gulf existed between Berto and the other retirees. He was, despite the Veteran's pension, nowhere near as wealthy as they were. But he did have an edge over them, and he often pointed this out: "Their public relations are very bad. These men are too tight with their money. They don't know how to be good to people. Here you are nothing if you do

not have good *public relations*." Clearly, unlike the other retirees, Berto was a bit more shrewd.

Although Enrique had not seen Berto since they were both young men, he knew Berto's past, and he teased him about it, "How come you leave the States, Berto? I tell you, you're no good!" Berto did not like the comment, but he accepted it good-naturedly and reached out to shake Enrique's hand.

The two could not help laughing at the changes they saw in each other. Enrique pulled Berto's cap off and chuckled at the sight of his bald head. Berto, in turn, laughed at Enrique's white hair. But he snorted at the San Miguel beer which Enrique was serving his guests. The San Miguel, a treat for Enrique, was commonplace to Berto who demanded that he be served something imported to drink. Enrique went upstairs to his room and brought back an opened bottle of Canadian Club whiskey. He and Berto seated themselves at the kitchen table and drank several shots in friendly verbal sparring. How, Enrique inquired, could Berto have a pension when he did not stay in America long enough to qualify for Social Security benefits? Berto explained that he qualified for Veterans' benefits. He then asked Enrique for some American cigarettes. Enrique's sister Adelina overheard Berto's request and advised Enrique not to get him any. "That man already has plenty of money." Berto was annoyed at the rebuff and requested more Canadian Club, but Enrique refused to go upstairs to get another bottle. "You come tomorrow, we drink again," he told Berto.

As he departed, Berto teasingly asked Enrique if he would be getting married. Enrique laughed and said, "I don't know. I am living with my sister, and I don't think she wants me to."

But Enrique was wrong. Within two weeks of his arrival his siblings had convinced him to marry. He would, they said, need someone to care for him in his old age.

Of course, most men marry when they are young, and their fathers provide them with a dowry. Also, most men marry *within* the village in order to keep property rights in the larger kindred and to maximize property resources, since their wives might also bring property to the marriage. But a couple of factors create a twist in the tradition in the case of the retiree marriages. First, a retiree establishes his own dowry

and he does this by purchasing prime quality rice land, in keeping with his status as a rich man; and, second, he, of course, is either too old or sufficiently uninterested to farm the land himself. What this presents is a situation in which it is to the advantage of a retiree's siblings and their children to encourage him to marry a woman from a socially unimportant family in a distant village. Geographical and social factors inhibit the wife's kindred from requesting usufruct rights to any of the dowry land, and, therefore, the retiree's kindred have exclusive rights to it (although, they, of course, share the produce with the retiree and his family).

Traditionally, if a woman is widowed before she has a child, she is obliged to return the dowry to her husband's family. As a precaution against not having children of their own, some retirees adopt children shortly after they marry. All but one of the wives of retirees in Enrique's village had, however, given birth.

Another reason a retiree and his wife start a family is the fact that natural children are a source of dollar income since they are eligible for Social Security benefits until the age of twenty-two. In the case of her husband's death, a young wife can support herself with her children's benefits until she reaches the age of sixty-two and qualifies for benefits herself. One retiree laughingly remarked that if he had known he was going to live as long as he has, he and his wife would have spaced their children every five years!

With the advice of his siblings, Enrique purchased three parcels of land, each of roughly equal value. He, of course, had no intention of farming the land himself. His brothers and nephews would do it for him. He bought no land for Adelina, his married sister, since her husband had gone to California four years earlier, nor did he buy any land for his single sister, Espirita. She, though, would be given the job of supervising the shares and allotment of the harvest--and be awarded with a percentage of the harvest for her trouble. The three lots Enrique purchased had a total value of ₱32,000 (about $4,000).

Enrique's siblings soon informed him that they had found a girl, Perlita, to be his wife. She was the maid of a retired emigrant couple who had returned to the village two years ago from Hawai'i. Perlita was

young and attractive. She had been born and raised in a small village in another municipality.

In comparison to usual standards, the terms of the dowry settlement were quite high. They included the land Enrique had purchased plus ₱60,000. The couple would use the money to build a modern home equipped with such amenities as an electric generator, refrigerator, T.V., and, for Enrique's own special comfort, a bed with spring mattresses. Enrique also promised to give a handsome gift of ₱1,500 to the mother of the bride. No young man getting married in the village would ever have a dowry that would even come close to one such as this, and few ever bestowed on a mother-in-law such a generous gift.

Everyone agreed to schedule the wedding for the last week in June; it could be held no later for fear that the monsoon rains, already late in coming, would spoil the event.

The morning of the wedding Enrique and his bride dressed early for the ceremony which would be held at nine in the morning at a church in Simbaan, a town two kilometers to the south. At eight-thirty Simbaan's vice-mayor, who had many friends in Bawang, drove the couple to the church in his jeep. Relatives and wedding sponsors rode to town aboard a bus Enrique had rented.

Few people actually went to the ceremony as most were busy preparing for the subsequent celebration. At three that morning a few men had gathered at Adelina's house to slaughter a carabao and two pigs, and they were now cooking the meat dishes. Women were washing the plates and utensils to be used, preparing the vegetable dishes, and scurrying about caring to a hundred details.

When the wedding party arrived at the church, Pedro went to fetch the minister at the rectory a block away. Everyone else stepped into the cool gloom of the church. Enrique wore a richly embroidered shirt, Perlita a flowing white dress and veil. Pedro and Adelina were dressed in new clothes tailored in Laoag. The two would be Enrique's surrogate parents for the day.

Young friends of Perlita had decorated the pews along the aisle with white crepe paper, flowers, and ribbons. Below the altar was a red cut-out heart, at which the bride and groom would kneel during the ceremony. At the back of the church, a five piece

orchestra tuned up off-key and, at the signal of the priest who appeared at the altar, struck off with the processional, Elvis Presley's "It's Now or Never." Enrique took his young bride's arm and marched solemnly with her to the altar. At the age of sixty-five, he was getting married, scarcely six weeks after his return from Hawai'i.

At ten the wedding party returned to the village where hundreds of people had gathered for the reception. A little boy shouted "They're coming! They're coming!" and the crowd jostled to get a good view of them. The two appeared hand-in-hand, but with their eyes cast humbly down.

Followed by relatives and wedding sponsors, they proceeded into the house and upstairs to the family altar on which an offering of food had been placed and candles lit. Old women knelt behind Enrique and Perlita and began to chant a prayer to ask for the Lord's blessing. The women prayed for ten minutes, after which Enrique and Perlita rose and ritually shook hands with their sponsors. The two proceeded downstairs to greet their guests and to take their place at the end of a long table, where, with their close relatives and sponsors, they were served the wedding meal. As soon as Enrique and Perlita were finished, they went into the house to change into informal clothes for the dance. Guests continued to be served until all who had come to the party had been fed.

Under a tent, set up near Adelina's house, chairs and benches were arranged about a circle, the center of which served as a dance floor. A ten-piece orchestra played both traditional and modern music. Dancing, however, had started before the wedding party had returned from the church. Berto, acting as the Master of Ceremonies, his spirits well fortified with whiskey, enjoyed entreating prominent guests, such as town officials, to dance. The guests chose as partners young, unmarried girls. Married women were only selected to dance the traditional *La Hota* in which the male, like a proud rooster flirting with an eager hen, set a fast and intricate pace for his partner to follow.

The group were joined by Enrique and Perlita who sat in two chairs directly in front of the orchestra. Neither took part in the dancing. Perlita had changed into an orange dress. A small, silver tiara adorned her head. Enrique wore an orange aloha shirt.

provisions to her home, and to get it, she used a call that she knew would attract attention. Chagrined at their gullibility but nevertheless appreciating her joke, they helped carry her belongings home.

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If Enrique had been a young man, he, like Perlita, would have been sad, for marriage would have signified a break with the past and long-time personal relations. Often a bride and groom weep when their relatives (especially grandmothers and great-aunts) present them with their wedding gifts. Today only Perlita would be so affected.

A friend nudged Enrique in the ribs and reminded him to strap a small fish trap to his back that night. This would ensure, he said, that Enrique and Perlita would have plenty of children.

Although no one under the tent had noticed, the sky was growing dark and strong winds were beginning to blow from the south. Pedro, however, realized what was about to happen and suggested the dancing stop in order to have sufficient time for the sponsors to present their gifts. Two large mats were placed at the feet of Enrique and Perlita. On the mats were set three empty plates, one in front of Enrique for his sponsors to put their gifts in, one in front of Perlita for her sponsors to put their gifts in, and one in the center for the customary peso contributions to the orchestra. Perlita's parents and Pedro and Adelina stood behind the couple to greet the sponsors.

When all was in readiness, Berto called them in pairs to come forward—to the accompaniment of a march played by the orchestra—and to make their presentation. Enrique and Perlita rose in each instance to shake their sponsors' hands. The municipal officials were called first and then the retirees. With their dark glasses, bright aloha shirts, and young attractive wives, the retirees added an extra dash of color to the affair. Unacquainted with local etiquette, Enrique often failed to rise in time to shake his sponsors' hands. He was reminded to do so by Pedro who nudged him in the back.

But before all the sponsors could present their gifts, the heavens opened, and the tent began to drip, then gush suddenly in small waterfalls from every corner. Some guests rushed home, others into Adelina's house—and just in time, too, for with a shudder the tent collapsed and what had once been the dance floor was now a soggy, muddy mess. If the rains had not interrupted so rudely, friends and relatives of the couple would also have had the opportunity of presenting their gifts.

However, tradition was now shattered and sheer gaiety took over. Enrique and Perlita went upstairs, not to appear again before their guests, and impromptu dancing commenced in the kitchen. Berto grabbed an old woman from the crowd and started to dance with her. She resisted and he grabbed for another. Soon all the women were screaming in mock terror as Berto made his flirtatious advances, but they also couldn't help laughing uproariously at his antics. Any woman that he grabbed broke away at the first opportunity and swatted him in the process. The mood was contagious and soon a few of the male cooks, who had had their share of sugarcane wine to drink, joined in the fun. The women, in laughter, began to flee out into the rain. Gradually, as the downpour ceased, the celebrants returned home.

Enrique was married. The rains had come. And the partying season was at an end. Enrique was a landowner, and after the rainy season he would build his retirement home. In a year he might be the father of a child who would inherit his fortune. Enrique's brothers and sisters, by encouraging him to marry, had found someone to care for him in his old age and had also helped incorporate his savings into the village economy. In the process they had increased their own prestige and helped to establish new social ties for Enrique. Now that he was married, Perlita would exercise her role as guardian of his wealth and see to it that he did not squander it on cockfights and other diversions. This would be an easy task. She was a stranger in the village, had few social obligations to anyone, and therefore could say no to the inevitable requests for money.

* * * *

Two days after Enrique's wedding it was market day in the nearby town of Simbaan. At ten that morning, a woman shouted from the national highway in a loud and urgent voice, "A Hawaiiano has arrived! A Hawaiiano has arrived!"

Odd, people who heard her thought, the bus from Manila does not usually arrive at this hour. But the call was repeated. Yes, it must be so! A Hawaiiano was coming! And men, women, and children rushed from their homes and ran to the highway taking up the call "A Hawaiiano has arrived! A Hawaiiano has arrived!"

But when they got to the highway all they found was the old spinster, Nana Rosa, standing in the center of a pile of goods that she had bought at the market. Nana Rosa needed help in carrying the